The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

GENEVA, 'the city of lost causes,' where the splendid palace of the League of Nations seemed to have become a memorial almost as soon as it was built, has been revived as a centre of world interest. The meeting of the Heads of State, held there in July, is a sign not only of the revival of a beautiful city as a place of importance again in the world, but also that Europe, which many Americans had almost despaired of and the Russians had come to regard as fruit ripening for their plucking, has itself revived.

There are few indications that anything of importance was decided, or was meant to be decided, by the Heads of State. Recent history has shown only too often that such meetings may have their uses but are a dangerous method of deciding the course of great events. The reality below the appearance of goodwill, however sincerely meant, must wait at least for the conference of Foreign Secretaries later in the year, which will be concerned with the actual facts and situations of a still tense world. Already it has been pointed out that we are ready to make friends with the oppressors, leaving the oppressed to hope for little aid or encouragement from the Western powers, intent upon maintaining, and even raising, their own high standards of material life.

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We rejoice, as of course do all civilized men, that in the Foreign Secretary's words, "There ain't gonna be no war," but we have thought that way before when our eyes had been resolutely turned away from plain but uncomfortable facts. The Foreign Secretary must not be taken to mean that in his judgment there are no dangerous situations, no wrongs to be righted, no tyrannies to be uprooted. The fact that major war, certainly total war, has become impossible means that the conflicts will go on but on another level. We know that there are times when Christ brings not peace but a sword. The intangibles of our civilization, the religion, philosophy, and science, must assert themselves without the stimulus of physical danger. For the peace we seek is not merely the absence of war. If peace means no more than to be left in peace to be selfish and irresponsible, if we in the West have no dynamic of freedom to counter the

revolutionary energy of Communism, then the processes of decay will fulfil our fears as effectually as military action.

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The agreement, if it is an agreement, that there shall be no more war is not, alas, due to the wisdom and grace of political leadership. It is the immediate consequence of the development of nuclear science. We may be sure that more is known of the breath-taking physical powers now coming under control than is brought into common discussion. But it is generally understood that the punishment of military aggression is bound to be so heavy that no State, or combination of States, dare now attempt it. Major aggression by any of the democratic States has long been impossible. Public discussion of the means for it has made it so. The new fact is that totalitarian States with their secret budgets, slave labour and terrorized populations dare no longer attempt it.

Twice in this century the effort to seize by force the hegemony of Europe has been made. Twice it has failed. The one reason we may now be certain it will not be tried again is the atomic bomb.

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The really important conference held in Geneva this year was that of the nuclear physicists. Their proceedings were too technical for most of us to follow, but the simple fact that such a conference was held is an indication of the confidence of American and British leadership, both political and scientific, that we need no longer work in a black-out, screening the windows of our laboratories lest some ray of light betray us. The day of the atomic traitors is past, for which we are very thankful. But the heartiest thanksgiving must surely arise from the scientists themselves, now allowed to work in the light, receiving new truth from whatever source it may come and publishing their own discoveries. 'Have dominion and subdue the earth! Dress the garden and keep it'—these are the commandments to mankind from the beginning. And it can only be done, as it ought to be done, in the light, by giving as freely as receiving.

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But to think of nuclear energy only in terms of war is a blasphemy. We are clearly at the beginning of a new era in the material life of mankind. We receive it, as we have to receive all the powers we have, not as man's invention, but his discovery. Our concern as Christians is that we shall be able to cultivate the spiritual abilities to match the new physical powers. A revolution is upon us. Are we equipped for it?

It may well be that when the first half of the twentieth century can be seen in perspective the two great wars will prove to have been attempts to seize control of the new technologies that were already

foreshadowed and were to change the life of the world. We and the Americans and the Russians have survived to use the opportunities and carry the responsibilities. The Russians have their philosophy of communal life, and we have ours. The conflicts between them will no longer be by force of arms. It is all the more important that we should understand who and what we are in this world, and what is our relationship to one another. The authority we acknowledge is Our Lord, Jesus Christ, four words in which history and mystery meet, faith and experience mingle, love and hope, time and eternity come together. Our Lord's test was to judge the tree by its fruits. By that test we shall be, indeed are being, judged.

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The Rev. Claud M. Coltman, who, with his wife, the first woman to be ordained to the ministry in this country, was associated with Orchard at the King's Weigh House church from 1917 to 1921, and is now minister of the church where, in the New Year, he will be joined by the Rev. Daniel Jenkins, has sent us the following note:—

"Tributes to the late Rev. Dr. W. E. Orchard have been many and generous, but it is difficult to do justice to so rich and many-sided a personality. The steps of his personal pilgrimage, particularly the last one, which took him into the priesthood of the Church of Rome, have been much discussed, but perhaps there has not been a sufficient recognition either of the driving-force in all his journeying or of his achievements along the way.

Dr. Orchard ever sought the *fullness* of the Christian faith. The 'wholeness' of Christianity, both in thought and practice, filled his vision. Consequently, he was a pioneer and forerunner in other directions, as well as in the field of worship.

In the first World War he was the outstanding Christian pacifist in London, and his fearless preaching was a fount of inspiration and a tower of strength to all who thought that way. One of the brave deeds of that time was his leading a procession of witness on a Sunday afternoon from his church to Trafalgar Square, pleading for 'Peace in Christ's Name.' It was the period of the famous Lansdowne letter, when the ex-Foreign Secretary was urging that the war should be ended by negotiation before irreparable harm was done to European civilization. Orchard's pacifism, for all its uncompromizing conviction, flowed from his conception of the Church, united to become the mediator and reconciler amongst the nations.

'Neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female,' was a principle which he believed committed the Church to revolutionary action in the spheres alike of race, class and sex. It was under his ministry at the King's Weigh House Church that,

in 1917, the first woman to be ordained in this country received full ordination to the Christian ministry. He himself presided at the service, assisted by Leyton Richards, Stanley Russell and George Darlaston.

After the end of the war, in 1918, during the industrial unrest that followed, Dr. Orchard drew great congregations by his expounding of the Christian Gospel in terms of the social order. He preached 'the necessity of Christ' alike for personal salvation and for the redemption of human society. Those were the days when 'Church full' had to be posted on the doors at the evening service, and when the first woman to be a British Cabinet Minister, Margaret Bondfield, was a member of the King's Weigh House diaconate.

His enriching and fuller ordering of worship at King's Weigh House was itself part of his endeavour to realize the wholeness of Christ's Church. He hoped that by the blending of Free and Catholic elements in worship, he might draw together the sundered members of the Church. This attempt is in itself more timely now than even in his own day. The enriching of their corporate worship would benefit the Free Churches themselves and the increasing association of the Churches in the Ecumenical Movement stimulates the desire to share more fully in the knowledge and appreciation of unaccustomed ways of worship. Moreover, if the re-union achieved in the Church of South India is any sort of pattern for union elsewhere, fuller understanding of other modes and principles of worship will become necessary.

It was this quest for re-union with 'the whole Church' which finally carried Orchard to Rome. In 1932, a plan sponsored by the Weigh House was presented to the Church of England, whereby a democratically-reformed episcopate would offer ordination to Free Church ministers, without calling in question their present ordination, but conferring on them a wider recognition and commission. When Convocation rejected the plan, Orchard, despairing that any progress towards re-union would be made in his life-time, resigned from the Weigh House, and three years later sought what he had come to think was a fuller commission at the hands of Rome. His step may be deeply lamented, but its purpose should be recognized. His early endeavour to enrich Free Church worship is enshrined in his book, *Divine Service,* which is still used at the King's Weigh House, and which may prove to be the most permanent fruit of his vision."

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To Mr. Coltman's note we add a personal memory of the power of Orchard's preaching in the period which immediately followed the Armistice of 1918. We were, at that time, serving on the Head-

quarters staff of the Eastern Command and living in the mess of the Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich. When the Armistice was signed a huge number of temporary workers at the Arsenal were thrown out of work, a grim situation which was repeated in many industrial areas. There was then no unemployment insurance, and the device of the contemptuously named 'dole' saved great numbers of families from destitution and this country from revolution. We came up regularly from Woolwich to attend morning service at King's Weigh House, and very often repeated the journey in the evening. At that time no one in England preached with greater evangelical power, and it seemed to us then, and later, that it was little short of tragedy that Orchard's great gifts were diverted into other channels.

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The attempt made at Evanston to revise the basis of the World Council of Churches, an association of Churches which accept the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour, in the hope that it would be possible to construct an acceptable formula more readily intelligible to the ordinary Christian was not pressed. In a *Diary with Letters*, recently published, Dr. Thomas Jones recalls that during the debates on the Revision of the *Prayer Book* there was a clerical discussion on the difficulty of the Collect for Trinity Sunday, which was closed by Hensley Henson, then Bishop of Durham remarking, "I have little sympathy with this lust for intelligibility."

From the same source comes the story of Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, visiting his old home at Bishopsthorpe to inspect his portrait which had been hung there. Lang objected to Henson that the painter had made him "an astute and smiling ecclesiastic." Henson asked, "To which of the epithets does Your Grace object?"

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At a meeting of the executive committee of the International Congregational Council held in July at the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey, where Dr. Robert Paul, the Assistant Director, acted as host, Dr. Berry gave his final report as Minister and Secretary. Mrs. Douglas Horton, who must be one of the wittiest and most graceful speakers in U.S.A., in making a presentation to him made it an occasion for affectionate gratitude rather than tears—gratitude for his leadership in re-establishing the Council and widening its membership. Miss Dorothy Biggs, who is so much more than an assistant secretary, is happily continuing in office. The Rev. Ralph Calder, Secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society, accepted the unanimous invitation to succeed Dr. Berry. It appeared that there was good reason to hope that the Eighth Council would be invited to meet at Harvard in 1958. It was decided that the general theme of discussion should be the Bible, and a theological commission was set up to begin the preparatory work forthwith.

THE WORLD AT LARGE

THERE is trouble, I gather, within the Protestant Church of Germany. Before the war there was the Reformed (or Calvinist) Church; there were regional Lutheran Churches, and there was the United Church of Prussia, a union of Presbyterian and Lutheran elements made one not by choice and conviction but by authority. At the Synod of Barmen in 1935 under the pressure of dire persecution there seemed to be emerging one Protestant Church in Germany; for the justly famous declaration of that Synod restated the Protestant faith in the light of the urgent needs of the fateful hour. The ancient confessions or credal statements of the participating churches were not repudiated, but the faith was restated in terms of the twentieth rather than the sixteenth century. Would there be found one united Protestant Church in Germany when the war was over?

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There was doubt; then the answer seemed to be, Yes. Under the chairmanship and inspiration of the aged bishop Würm there was inaugurated *die evangelische Kirche Deutschlands,* the Protestant Church of Germany. There were difficulties; extreme Lutherans do not regard themselves as being in communion with the Reformed or Calvinists. It was agreed, however, that where a Reformed Christian found himself in a Lutheran district he should be received to communion not as a matter of church law but as a matter of pastoral responsibility. This, by the way, is exactly the official attitude of the Church of England to members of the Church of Scotland and of Nonconformist churches in this country.

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But this United Church was defined in the Constitution as a *Bund.* What does this word *Bund* imply? Does it mean a partnership like that of a firm of solicitors or of doctors, a real corporate unity, or does it mean an instrument of co-operation for certain purposes? There was uncertainty or difference of interpretation from the first. The leaders of "the Confessional Church," as we called it, who had been the prime movers in the Barmen Synod, hoped and intended that the Protestant Church of Germany should be one truly united church of those who had been Lutherans and Calvinists before. But many Lutherans had no intention of being merged in a wider fellowship; they would be Lutherans first and last; the United Church, the *Bund,* should be more like the British Council of Churches than like, let us say, the United Church of Canada.

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The issue, I am afraid, is complicated by finance. The generosity of Americans knows no end. American Lutherans do not lack means, and many of them, as represented, for instance, by the Missouri Synod, are, it is to be supposed, rather more Lutheran than Luther himself could ever be. To many Christians in Germany World-Lutheranism means much more than "the Protestant Church of Germany." Dr. Martin Niemöller, who can do almost anything except compromise, leads the ecumenically-minded section of the Lutherans.

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One of the by-products of the World Council of Churches seems to be a revival of the denominationalism it was founded to overcome. There are three denominations in the world today that are wont to claim to have received the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the Roman, the Orthodox and the Lutheran. And what is to happen to the Congregationalists who make no such claim and (except in England) are ready to enter any Union Church which is proposed? We take our principles, we say, into each new union. It is well. But are we ready to draw from this two corollaries which seem inevitable; first, that the disappearance of Congregationalism by the uniting of churches will be rather the triumph than the end of Congregationalism, and, second, that Congregationalism is not in and by itself a complete or satisfactory church order?

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In recent years under the fine leadership of Dr. Von Thadden the German Church has held a *Kirchentag* or, as we should put it, a Church conference of laymen on a gigantic scale. We wish we might see such a laymen's movement here, but there is little prospect of it. This does not necessarily mean that our laymen are less devoted to the Church than are they in Germany. If England were politically severed at the Trent, and one side of the barrier were under Communist control, and if the only institution that could still speak for a united England were the Christian Church, then I think we could naturally expect to see a great Laymen's Movement that would be religious and yet at the same time relevant to the political situation. We should remember that "the unification of Germany" is a question that deeply concerns the Protestant cause in Europe. Whether the old *Reich* should have one government or two or more is a strictly political question with which the Church as such has no direct concern, but the great strength of German Protestantism lay in the East and is now behind the curtain, a harassed, persecuted, restricted Church. We can hardly expect our brethren in Germany to keep the religious issue and the political distinct.

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We need not doubt that the political sympathies of Christians in Western Germany are with the West. But the more vividly they are aware of the sufferings of the Church in the East, and the more they identify themselves with their suffering brethren, the more they tend to be unwilling that Western Germany should be identified with the policies of the Western world. Some of them feel that a neutralized Germany that would be one and largely free would, in spite of all the hazards of such an unarmed position, be preferable to a situation where, as they fear, Germany might become a second Korea with Germans fighting against Germans, and where in any case their brethren must continue to endure oppression.

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It is important that we try to understand the perplexities, anxieties and divided desires of our fellow-Protestants in Germany. Moreover, we should remember that the firm adhesion of Western Germany to the West is secured only while Dr. Adenauer, an old man, is in power. He is a Roman Catholic; he follows the Roman line which is a policy of uncompromising hostility to 'Communism.' If I were a German nationalist, as most Western Germans are, I should be disposed to argue in this way: 'We lost the war, but now after a few years the Western victors have given us back, apart from our foreign possessions, everything that they can give us; we are no longer an occupied country; we are free; we are prosperous; we can have an army; we can enjoy what foreign policy we prefer. The West can give us no more. But so far we have received from Russia nothing; let us wait to see what Russia bids; she will certainly offer us unity on terms; we are in a strong bargaining position; if we play our cards well now, we may have German unity quite soon. At any rate, having received from the West all the West can give we shall be wise to keep an open mind and a reasonably open hand for what the East can be persuaded to offer now.' Could we persuade Germans that this would be an unpatriotic or immoral line for them to take? I could believe it must appeal to German Protestants with their eyes upon the separated and persecuted brethren in the Eastern zone. Such a policy would not suit British/American hopes, but that is another matter.

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Since our last number appeared, a great change has come over the North American scene. In the first place the shabby figure of Senator McCarthy has disappeared from the headlines; the essential decency of the American people is reasserting itself, and men of liberal political sympathies can begin to breathe and even to speak again. It will, I am afraid, be a long time before the havoc wrought by McCarthy on the Civil Service and the professions will be undone, and many innocent victims of his shameful and unscrupulous campaign will receive no redress in this world,

but the bad dream of an utterly illiberal police-state seems to be over.

Second, the common sense of the President seems to be in the ascendant over the moralism of Mr. Dulles. The fear of war has receded quite as much through a change of voice in Washington as by more temperate manners out of Moscow. There is a lesson for us here. Mr. Dulles is an extremely upright man of the highest principles, whose hatred of tyranny, of oppression and of active atheism is intense. It was these splendid and irreproachable principles that would early last year have landed America with France in a war which would almost inevitably have involved Russia as well as China and ourselves, had it not been for the firm common sense of Sir Winston Churchill and Sir Anthony Eden. In international affairs you cannot act simply upon moral principles without disastrous consequences; you must deal with people; you must aim at the possible; you must compromise. The case for a new Crusade to liberate the Baltic States and Czechoslovakia cannot be met on grounds of moral principle. But a new Crusade would mean the end of Europe and perhaps of man. Not intentionally and, as I suppose, quite unwittingly, Mr. Dulles has been acting as if he were the puppet of the Vatican. They say that Lord Simon was a very bad Foreign Minister because he was a lawyer with a lawyer's love of precision, definition and clear statement. Mr. Dulles has been a dangerous Secretary of State because he is a moralist, and I would not be found speaking ill of moralists!

N. M.

We are informed that readers sometimes have difficulty in getting copies of the *Congregational Quarterly* through their newsagents. In such cases will they please order from the publishers, Independent Press, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4, who will be glad to receive subscriptions (17s. 6d. per annum) or to supply single copies at 4s. 6d. post free. The subscription rate for U.S.A. is three dollars.

The help of readers to introduce the *Congregational Quarterly* where it is not known will be much appreciated. It is suggested that an annual subscription would be an acceptable Christmas present to any minister.

HUGH LATIMER[1]

PREACHER, REFORMER, MARTYR

By W. E. Booth Taylor

> No one of the Reformers sowed the seeds of sound Protestant doctrine so widely and so effectually among the lower and middle classes as Latimer. . . . He more than any other man, promoted the Reformation by his preaching.[2]

The span of Latimer's life falls in one of the expanding periods of history. Changes were taking place more momentous than any since the victory of Christianity and the fall of the Roman Empire. The death throes of medievalism were the birth pangs of a new age.

The date of Latimer's birth is uncertain, it may have been the year that saw the end of the Wars of the Roses: 1485. Of the boy Latimer, Foxe records: "He had such a ready, prompt and sharp wit, that his parents proposed to train him up in erudition and the knowledge of good literature." To the end of his life he kept his wit and cheerfulness. Preaching on one occasion before Edward VI he spoke of his yeoman father who had a farm of three or four pounds a year at Thurcastone, Leicestershire. "I remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath Field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to preach before the King's Majesty now . . . he kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor."

Elected to a fellowship of Clare Hall in 1510 Latimer's Cambridge years, 1505-1524, were a time of excitement and unrest. The New Learning clashed with the old Scholasticism; the newly discovered Greek tongue unlocked the Gospels and the New Testament; in religion, as in the nation's social and political life, decisive changes were taking place.

Latimer vigorously defended the old order and in his degree oration in 1524 sharply attacked Melancthon, the German Reformer. "At the age of thirty I was a most violent and bigoted Papist." When the change came he did not hastily abandon old ideas nor easily accept new conclusions. There were those who saw further and wished to move more quickly than did Latimer; his hesitancy sometimes distressed his friends. He studied the Scriptures, humbly sought the Holy Spirit's guiding, and endeavoured to be intellectually honest.

When Thomas Bilney read in Erasmus's Greek New Testament, 'This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Jesus

[1]The 4th centenary of Latimer's and Ridley's martyrdom falls on 16th October, 1955.

[2]J. C. Ryle, *Bishops and clergy of other days*, pp. 94-95.

Christ came into the world to save sinners,' he declared that the words had brought a comfort and quietness to his soul that all his fastings and prayers, penances and tearful strivings had never done. He had been attracted to Latimer and had prayed, "O Lord, give me the soul of that man and what wonders he shall do in Thy most Holy Name." He appealed to Latimer to hear his confession. "I did so," said Latimer, "and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than in many years."

Spiritually awakened, Latimer began his own quest. Not all the implications of his new found faith were apparent at once, but "from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsook the school doctors and such fooleries." The friendship of the two men ripened quickly; they prayed and studied together, visited the sick and those in prison, and openly upheld Reformed teaching. Bilney died at the stake on 19th August, 1531.

Latimer did not at first denounce the many unscriptural practices of the Church, he changed the emphasis and looked on them as of secondary importance, but the time came when he challenged them with reforming zeal, condemned in scathing terms vice and corruption both within and outside the Church, and was merciless in denouncing unpreaching prelates "so troubled with lordly living, rustling in their tents, dancing in their dominions, pampering their paunches, munching in their mangers, and loitering in their lordship, that they cannot attend to preaching."

With Tyndale, Erasmus and others, he wished to see the Bible translated into the native tongue and free for all to read or hear read. Of his letter on this theme to Henry VIII Froude writes, "It is an address of unexampled grandeur, worthily written for a worthy end; it is of itself a sufficient answer, if one were needed, to the charge sometimes levelled against Latimer by his enemies, that he was no more than 'a scurrilous polemic who rose to dignity by pandering to the vices of the king.' " In their efforts to this end the Reformers had the support of Thomas Cromwell. "Cromwell's greatest service to English Protestantism, and to English civilization, was the support he gave to the English Bible . . . It is to Cromwell that we owe the fact with its indisputable if immeasurable consequences, that in England the Scriptures thus early ceased to be the forbidden book of the agitator and became, under some slight safeguards, the property of the nation." (A *Life and Works* of *Thomas Cromwell* would fill a long-felt gap in English Reformation history.)

To Latimer, as to others, new light and spiritual insight came with the reading of the Gospels. Here was a standard of judgment that had Divine authority and by it many of the traditions of men stood condemned. Of Purgatory Latimer declared, "I know the

wasp that stings them. If purgatory and pilgrimage were destroyed they would lose their profits . . . Purgatory is a pleasant and notable fiction by means of which the Church had got more by dead men's tributes and gifts than any emperor had by taxes and tallages of them that are alive . . . Provision for purgatory hath brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of ill-gotten goods and lands hath not been made; Christian people are neglected and suffered to perish, last wills are unfulfilled and broken, and God's ordinances are set aside." The cult of relics—the bones were often no more than those of goats or pigs—the decorating of images, intercession of saints, the laborious system of penance, invocation of the Virgin, the commercialization of almost every act of worship and belief, Latimer exposed without fear or favour. And he who attacked a corrupt priesthood did not hesitate to tell Henry VIII that a monastery was not a fitting place in which to stable horses.

His true vocation was that of preacher. His daily discourses in the University created excitement and enthusiasm. "When Master Stafford read and Master Latimer preached then was Cambridge blessed." Sir John Cheke exclaimed, "I have an ear for other preachers, but a heart for Latimer." Said another, "Oh! how vehement was he in rebuking all sins . . . how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting virtue."

In the Lent of 1530 he preached for the first time before the Court at Windsor; a few months earlier he had preached his famous *Sermons on the Card*. Men played cards at Christmas, he would show them how to play Christ's 'cards' and to play as winners not losers. The 'cards' were texts, Matthew v, 21, 22-24. Latimer used vivid illustrations to show how men cheated and lied, obeyed outward forms of religion, but daily denied God; they observed religious rules but knew nothing of Christ and His salvation, nor did they desire to live in obedience to His commands. The sermons created an uproar, "the University was thrown into a frenzy."

Latimer stood with those who upheld Henry VIII's divorce appeal. As a king's Chaplain he was among those appointed to consider the lawfulness of the marriage. Prince Arthur had died shortly after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, but Henry VII resorted to every stratagem, even to offering to marry Catherine himself, rather than lose the magnificent dowry the marriage had brought. Prince Henry, a boy of eleven, protested vigorously against the suggestion that he should be betrothed to Catherine, but seven years later the marriage took place by Papal dispensation. It violated Canon Law, outraged public opinion, and was denounced as "abominable and incestuous."

In the January of 1531 Latimer was inducted to the rectory of West Kington in the diocese of Salisbury, itself a preserve of the

absentee Cardinal Campeggio, who never visited it. His decision to leave the Court for an obscure country parish distressed his friends; away from the influence of those who stood near the King, they argued, his chances of preferment would be slight.

His preaching and pastoral care soon won for him the affection of his people, but preaching farther afield he was opposed by the Bishop of Bristol who requested Stokesley, Bishop of London, to call Latimer for examination. When Latimer protested that he was subject to his own bishop, Stokesley prevailed upon Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, "whose zeal was nearly of a temper with his own malice," to demand Latimer's appearance in London. "I marvel not a little," wrote Latimer, "that my Lord of London, having so large a diocese, and so peopled as it is, can have either leisure to trouble me or to trouble himself with me, a stranger to him. . . . Methinks it were more comely for my lord, if it were comely for me to say so, to be a preacher himself than a disquieter of preachers." He concluded that he knew the matter was weighty, "as weighty as my life is worth, but as God has emboldened me to preach the truth so He will embolden me to suffer for it. I trust that God will help me, which trust, if I had not, the ocean seas should have divided my lord of London and me by this time." Latimer withstood the pleas of his friends to leave the country, even as he had withstood their earlier appeals to remain at Court.

During his frequent appearances before Stokesley he was not examined on his preaching, but "sounded on heresy." Surprised on one occasion at being asked to speak up he "gave an ear to the chimney, and there I heard a pen walking behind a cloth." Presented finally with fifteen articles upholding purgatory and other practices abhorred by the Reformers, Latimer defended himself by distinguishing between things voluntary and those demanded by God's Word. He was excommunicated but later absolved on accepting two of the articles. It is claimed that he later accepted the fifteen. Held indefinitely in custody he at last took the bold step of appealing directly to the King. A dilapidated and partly indecipherable State Paper suggests that Henry commended his preaching and learning, but any further offence and "ye shall else get only from me a fagot to burn you."

His abject humiliation—he was made to kneel and confess his errors before Stokesley—perplexed and saddened his friends. Much has been said in extenuation. What practices did he wish to abolish, how much to retain? Where had he arrived in his thinking at this time? Others were standing firm. Bainham was not only cruelly whipped and racked in Sir Thomas More's garden, but on the night before his martyrdom burned off the top of a finger in a candle flame to accustom himself to the pain. Visited by Latimer he gave his reasons for refusing to recant, and added, "I likewise do exhort

you to stand for the defence of the truth; for you that shall be left behind have need of comfort (encouragement) the world being as dangerous as it is." It cannot be claimed that Latimer sought martyrdom for martyrdom's sake; he was not the most aggressive of Reformers and appears to have hoped that reform would come from within.

> It has become customary of late for men to regret what they call the extreme and unnecessary violence which accompanied the Reformation, and to wish that the Reformers had contented themselves with stripping away what was manifestly false and superstitious, without introducing such sweeping and radical changes into the doctrine and worship of the Church. The history of Latimer shows the groundlessness of that remark.[3]

When, in 1534, the See of Worcester was declared vacant, it had been for over forty years the preserve of an Italian bishop who had never set foot in England but who had received annually large sums of money from the diocese. Latimer was consecrated Bishop the following year and, as at West Kington, soon won by his labours and preaching the confidence of all who were not strongly opposed to reform.

In his travels he was frequently present when many venerated 'saints' and mechanically contrived images were exposed. Of the figure on the Rood of Bexley the cynics said,

> He was made to juggle,
> His eyes would gogle,
> He would bend his brows and frown;
> With his head he would nod
> Like a proper young god,
> And his chafts (jaws) would go up and down.

'Our Lady of Worcester,' the great Sibyl, venerated by multitudes, proved on investigation to be the heavily draped statue of a long dead bishop. Sibyl had many sisters in different parts of the country. In St. Paul's on one occasion Latimer made the astonished people gasp by throwing through the door a small image of which the priests had said that eight oxen could not move it. The "Blood of Hailes," venerated as "drops from the Cross," was saffron coloured honey.

Towards all who denied his supremacy of the Church in England Henry was merciless. Such a denial was treason. Cranmer's plea on behalf of John Forest availed nothing, and Latimer, unhappily appointed to preach the sermon at the stake, asked that he might be placed near enough for Forest to hear his appeal in the hope that he might relent. The brave friar stood firm, however, and challenged Latimer before the people, "seven years past and he dared not have made such a sermon for his life."

[3] *Hugh Latimer*, Robert Demaus, p. 168.

The spoliation of the monasteries went on apace. Henry's greed was insatiable; others were convinced that the monastic way of life was unscriptural and inimical to the Christian Faith. With Cranmer and others Latimer appealed for monastic wealth not to be used for secular purposes, but for works of charity, for Christian studies, and for the training of preachers.

The 'Bloody Statute'—'The Whip with the Six Cords'—was a severe blow for the Reformers. What proved to be a temporary set-back seemed at the time an irreparable loss. Henry was determined to be master in his own realm and to stop English money flowing to Rome, but he would concede little to the Reformed faith and insisted that "all his loving subjects should observe and keep the ancient ceremonies." The depth of his Protestantism was the measure of its personal convenience and political expediency. With the passing of the statute Latimer resigned and "as he put off his robes," is said to have exclaimed that "he found himself lighter than he had been for some time." It transpired later that Cromwell had deceived him into believing that the King desired his resignation. Cranmer continued in office and much has been made of Latimer's "heroism," and Cranmer's "cowardice," but in the light of all the facts there is little to be said for either imputation.

What further good Latimer might have done had he remained at Worcester is a matter for speculation; naturally his enforced silence was a disappointment to all who upheld reform. Of his life during the next eight years little is known. At first he was held in London, but afterwards, apparently, allowed to live in the country. On a later visit to London he was arrested as a suspect, held on a trumped-up charge, and "endured a cruel imprisonment during the remainder of the king's reign."

Under Edward VI Latimer lived mostly with Cranmer at Lambeth, helping to compile the *First Book of Homilies,* undertaking preaching tours and, in the early part of the reign, frequently preaching before the young King. He openly appealed to Edward to hear in person the pleas of his people. "The saying now is that money is heard everywhere; if a man be rich he shall soon have an end of the matter; others are fain to go home weeping for any help they obtain from the judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf. . . ." When accused of stirring up the poor against the rich he warned the wealthier classes that for their own sakes they ought to show mercy and exercise justice, "for the sore is brought to such an extremity that if it be not remedied all the realm shall rue."

The repeal of the more cruel laws of Henry VIII saw further progress in reform. Holy days were not to be spent in debauchery; wandering pilgrimages, offering tapers, venerating relics were to

give way to works of mercy; bishops were to preach four times a year; the clergy must oppose all Papal claims.

Latimer's famous *Sermon of the Plough,* preached in January, 1548, powerfully impressed the people. Setting forth the Scriptures plainly he revealed the "perversion of the Mass," attacked priest-craft and corruption, and shewed how far the religious life of the nation had departed from the purity of the Gospel. "The people had come to look on him as raised up and specially endowed by God, and gifted almost with the power of the old Prophets . . . it was a common saying, 'If ever England had a prophet he was one. Moses, Jeremiah and Elijah did never declare the true message of God to their rulers and people with a more sincere spirit, faithful mind, and Godly zeal than did Latimer.' "

Ridley succeeded Bonner as Bishop of London in the autumn of 1549. With other Reformers he appealed for protection for the Universities, some of whose colleges were being sequestered like the monasteries and, referring to Clare Hall with its pillaged library, paid a fine tribute to Latimer.

When the young King died in 1553 "commending to God the people of England and praying that He would defend the nation against papistry and would maintain the true religion," Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley did not join those who fled to the Continent. With the Wyatt rebellion crushed, Mary's promised toleration soon came to an end; Wyatt and Lady Jane Grey were only two of many who died on the scaffold and, but for the intervention of the Council, the young Princess Elizabeth would almost certainly have perished. Angry with those who had divorced Henry from her mother, frustrated in her own emotional life, ecclesiastically religious rather than Christian, safeguarded by the new heresy laws and backed by papal authority, Mary's fanaticism knew no bounds. Long before her 279th victim had died at the stake the nation generally had sickened at the brutal tortures and burnings. "Even the commonest lives gleamed for a moment into glory at the stake."

> Their good lives had no merit with their adversaries. With them it mattered not what a man's life was, if his opinions were orthodox. They could give great allowance for the former, but the least mistake in the latter was unpardonable.

Summoned by Gardiner (Diotrephes, Latimer dubbed him), in September, 1553, Latimer journeyed leisurely to London remarking to a friend as he passed through Smithfield that the place "had long groaned for him." His examiners harped on the popular string of unity. "Yes, Sir, quoth I, but unity in verity (truth), not in Popery. Better is diversity than unity in Popery."

After a time Latimer, Cranmer and Ridley were lodged together in the Tower. During the coronation commotion when "neither

gates, doors, nor prisoners were looked to," many escaped. The three friends spent much time together in prayer and the study of the New Testament searching diligently to know its teaching on the Lord's Supper. This was crucial. They must either conform to Rome's view and accept the Mass, or be prepared to defend with their lives what they believed to be true to New Testament teaching. Cranmer remained always the most fearful, and Bonner boasted, "Cranmer will never burn," but when he did, six months after his friends, carrying to be burned with him the six recantations Mary had compelled him to write, he was doubtless fortified in no small measure by the remembrance of the loving friendship and courageous example of his friends, Latimer and Ridley. By their martyrdom they denied to the Queen and the Pope their dearest wish, "that public abjuration of their Protestant Faith that more than anything else would have discredited the Reformation in England."

In Holy Week, 1554, Latimer and Ridley were removed to Oxford. Saturday, 14th April, was a day of intense excitement. Those with whom they were to dispute were preceded by a brilliant procession of choristers, proctors, doctors of law and doctors of divinity, with a host of beagles in the van and a boisterous crowd of undergraduates bringing up the rear. After a "solemn mass of the Holy Ghost," articles were presented to them to which they must consent or publicly refute. Neither Latimer nor Ridley would enter into lengthy argument. Latimer, frail and ill, protested, "I am almost as ready to dispute as to be captain of Calais!" At a subsequent examination he affirmed that he had read the New Testament over seven times deliberately, and yet "could not find the Mass in it, neither the marrow bones nor the sinews." Weston, who headed the thirty-three commissioners set to dispute, declared angrily he would make him grant that both were to be found. "That you never will, Master Doctor."

Questioned further about the Fathers he replied that they "might be deceived on some points;" he believed them "when they had the Scriptures with them."

Tedious arguments followed with reference to Augustine and Luther. Latimer replied briefly, Augustine was a reasonable man; "he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof." "I do not take in hand to defend Luther's sayings and doings. If he were here he would defend himself well enough, I trow."

The examinations were carried through in an unseemly manner. Cat-calls, whistlings and hisses, ribald remarks from the crowded onlookers, made a mockery of the proceedings. Latimer re-affirmed that with other eminent scholars he had searched the Scriptures and had found therein "no other presence of Christ's body and blood

but a spiritual presence. Nor did the Scripture say that the Mass was a sacrifice for sins, but rather that the sacrifice which Christ did on the Cross was perfect, holy, and good, that God did require none other, nor that ever to be done again. . . ."

Brow-beating and cajolery having failed Weston adopted a gentle and pleading tone. "The Queen's grace will be merciful if ye will turn," to which Latimer replied, "You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion." The 'grilling' sometimes continued for three hour periods with Latimer "so faint and ill that he dared not venture to take a drink of water for fear of vomiting."

Sentence was passed but its execution was to be long delayed. If they were to die it must be by Papal legislation and not that of Henry VIII. Furthermore, every effort must be made to secure that recantation which would be of immeasurably more value to Rome than their death in the Protestant cause.

During March of 1555 Latimer wrote his last address to the English people. It was a word of encouragement; an appeal to them to submit their lives to Christ in a convincing personal way; he warned them of the sin of professing a belief in the Mass because of fear, when in their hearts they knew it to be "an abominable idol, full of idolatry, sacrilege against God and the dear sacrifice of Christ." He commended the people to God, besought their prayers, and prayed the Divine mercy upon all. About this time his own books with those of Luther, Tyndale and Cranmer were ordered to be burnt.

A further Commission "to examine the heretics, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, pretensed bishops of Worcester and London . . ." was appointed by Cardinal Pole in September. Foxe describes Latimer's appearance before his accusers. "He held his hat in his hand, he had a kerchief on his head, and a nightcap or two, and a great cap, such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under his chin; he wore an old threadbare frieze gown girded to his body with a penny girdle, at the which hanged by a long thong his testament, and his spectacles, without case, depended about his neck, upon his breast."

White, Bishop of Lincoln, urged him to return "like a strayed sheep into the unity of Christ's Church . . . you are a learned man, borne office as a bishop, you are old, spare your body . . . consider if you die in this state you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God. Let not vainglory have the upper hand; humiliate yourself, subdue your reason . . . without (outside) the Church there is no salvation . . ."

> Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the Church. I confess, my lord, a Catholic Church, spread through all the world, in which no man may err, without the which unity of the Church no man can be saved; but I know perfectly by God's Word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say. . . .

Latimer further agreed that the bishops should rule, "But the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of Regere . . . they have turned 'according to the Word of God,' into 'ruling according to their own pleasures.' "

At the close of the examination Latimer, weak and ill, pleaded that he might not have to appear again. "I require no respite; I am at point (decided)." On the morrow he cut White short at once:

> Your lordship doth often repeat the Catholic Church, as though I should deny the same. I confess there is a Catholic Church, to the determination of which I stand, but not the Church you call Catholic, which might be sooner termed diabolic . . . it is one thing to say Romish Church, and another to say Catholic Church.

The sentence, already passed on Ridley, was now accommodated to suit Latimer, and the execution ordered for 16th October. The "traditional mummery" of degradation was probably performed the previous evening.

Strong precautions were made to prevent any attempt to rescue the two men. Ridley, dressed in a black-furred gown, was first at the stake; when Latimer joined him wearing only a "poor Bristol frieze with a new shroud hanging down to his feet," he embraced him and said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it." An appeal to address the people was denied them unless they wished to recant. A renegade priest named Smith then preached on the words, "Though I give my body to be burned. . . ."

Commanded to make ready Ridley distributed his garments and small possessions to nearby friends. He would have retained his truss, but Latimer advised him to give it away, too. "It will put you to more pain, and it will do a poor man good." Thus, clad only in a shirt, and standing upon the stone, Ridley prayed, "Oh, Heavenly Father, I give unto Thee most hearty thanks for that Thou hast called me to be a professor of Thee, even unto death. I beseech Thee, good Lord, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." When the chain was passed round their bodies he said, "Knock it hard, good fellow, for the flesh will have his course."

As the faggots were lighted Latimer spoke his imperishable words:

> BE OF GOOD COMFORT, MASTER RIDLEY, AND PLAY THE MAN, WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT.

The awed people watched as the aged Latimer stroked his face, bathed his hands as it were in the flames, and moved his lips as if in prayer. Apparently he died quickly and without much pain. Ridley suffered terribly, the flames burning the lower part of his body without reaching any vital part. When, at last, the gunpowder exploded, his charred and lifeless remains collapsed over the chain and lay at Latimer's feet.

> . . . through the dusky air
> The pyres thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.

Their reflection still glows brightly in English skies.

> How fast the Marian death-list is unrolled!
> See Latimer and Ridley, in the might
> Of Faith, stand coupled for a common flight!
> One, like those prophets whom God sent of old,
> Transfigured, from this kindling hath foretold
> A torch of inextinguishable light;
> The other gains a confidence as bold;
> And thus they foil their enemy's despite.
> The penal instruments, the shows of crime,
> Are glorified while this once-mitred pair
> Of saintly friends, the murtherous chain partake,
> Corded, and burning at the stake;
> Earth never witnessed object more sublime
> In constancy, in fellowship more fair!
>
> —William Wordsworth.

THE THEOLOGY WE NEED TODAY

By Carl Schneider, Ph.D., L.Theol.

I do not know when your Congregationalist and our Protestant theology came into a near relationship, but we may trace it back at least to the times of Georg Calixtus and his friends. For me, personally, such a relationship goes back to one of the most pleasant experiences of my life when, thirty years ago, on the advice of Adolf Deissmann and Heinrich Böhmer, just after finishing my first degrees, I came to England and Scotland in order to visit the Congregational colleges. The impression of that visit, which remains today after thirty years, is that we are united in theological learning and scholarship in a unique way, and I think this is a reason for much joy and thankfulness.

It is true, of course, that our theology has changed very much since that time. Protestant theology never can pretend to an unchangeable infallibility. We both agree that every kind of theology must show at least some signs of the effect of the Spirit. But the Spirit is power, movement and life. This fact compels us, from time to time, to review our current theological position, and that means that at the same time we look back to the past changes, and look forward to the theological tasks and possibilities of the future.

What did we discuss with each other thirty years ago? It was a remarkable time for theology. Not long before that time something outstanding had happened: the end of Christian isolationism. Whereas even the former liberal theology of Harnack's time or the time of the great English liberals still preserved a definitely isolated position for Christianity, based mainly upon the Christian doctrine of salvation by grace and upon Christian ethics, this had been thoroughly changed by the religious-historical schools, and, to a minor degree, by the religious-psychological schools. This did not happen by accident, but by the compulsion of facts. The fundamental change of our outlook upon later antiquity brought about by the discovery of the papyri, the archaeological discoveries in Asia Minor, the enormous work done on inscriptions and coins, the new philological approach by the investigation of the Koine, worked out in co-operation by British and German philologists, the comparative study of patristics in connection with a new view on middle and late Platonism and the beginning of the investigation of Hellenistic and rabbinic Judaism provide only part of the reasons. The result was clear. The German book I found read most among the Congregational students thirty years ago was Adolf Deissmann's *Light from the Ancient East,* and the most read French book

François Cumont's book on the Hellenistic religions. It is not necessary here to add the titles of the English books of the same period. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* probably was the most outstanding encyclopaedia of that time. There was no 'absoluteness' or 'isolation' of Christianity any more, in any respect. The words of Jesus were a compilation of rabbinic and Cynic doctrine, Paul was rabbinic and Stoic, John influenced by Philo and the mystery-religions; Patristics was Greek philosophy in Christian terminology; Christian liturgy derived partly from the synagogue, partly from the Hellenistic cults; Christian art was a form of Oriental-Hellenistic art.

And then the reaction came. It did not come in the way of a scientific development, but as a kind of revolutionary enthusiasm, a kind of theological crusade in order to save Christianity. There were two movements, both internally related, although this is often somewhat obscured. Both fought for a new Christian isolationism. The one was renewed fundamentalist theology, the other one dialectic theology.

The various fundamentalist theologians (from the Missourians to Stauffer) had in common that they started with the renewal of the conception of inspiration. The uniqueness of Christianity was based upon the doctrine that only the Christian Holy Writings are inspired. The results of philology and the history of religion were either ignored or twisted so that they served only to prove Christian isolationism. Everyone looked for differences, and only for them. Sometimes it was overdone in a quite ridiculous way. When the Stoics or the rabbis said the same things that Jesus said they had to mean something else. This was not the result of an investigation, but a presupposition. *Agape* in an Isis hymn must mean something quite different from *agape* in John: and if you look for differences you always find them, especially if you do not want to find the identities.

In quite another way fundamentalism in its broadest sense dealt with the archaeological facts. They had to prove the truth of the Biblical writings. When an Egyptian administrative document was discovered which shows that landowners had to travel to some other place for tax registration, this was believed to be proof of the historicity of the Christmas story. It is simply fantastical what has been deduced from a few simple legends on Roman coins in order to prove the doctrines of fundamentalism.

The development of dialectic theology was much more impressive and decisive. It did not start with the Biblical word, but with the objective word behind the Biblical words that could be only understood by faith. Faith meant the contradiction of all reason, that is to say, of all historic facts; to dare and trust in the confessed truth of Christianity. The mere existence of divine revelation and

the unconditioned faith became the Christian *a priori* in contrast to the religious *a priori* which, in the previous period, had played such an important role. Christianity ceased to be 'a religion,' and was not to be in any way compared with other religions; in fact, its mere existence was sufficient.

One should never forget that both these movements did not primarily arise from theological science or scholarship, but from church life. The churches needed the isolation, or at least the absoluteness, of Christianity. It is not necessary here to say why. One should not forget that Barth and many others of his school came from the ministry. Theology had once more become the *ancilla ecclesiae,* and, since most of the Protestant churches were confessional churches, even the handmaid of denominational confessionalism.

There was some contradiction, but not much. England with her old Ritschlian tradition provided many opponents of all this from the old liberal tradition, and in Germany men like Jülicher protested vigorously, but were almost unheard; men like Lietzmann more or less withdrew and practically left theology in order to go into archaeology, history and philology.

The rest of the scientific schools, if I may call them so in contrast to the Christian isolationists, compromised with Bultmann. There were historical facts one could not deny, but Christianity was not based upon them. And they found a magic key to avoid the difficulties. The starting point of Christianity is not the historical Jesus and His teaching, which after the work of the earlier scholars have to be looked upon with some scepticism, but the *kerygma* of the early Church. The centre of this kerygma was the faith in and preaching of the Resurrection (although this does not quite conform with Paul for whom the preaching of the Cross seems to have been more important). Yet, even the Resurrection has not necessarily to be a historic, a *real* fact. It is sufficient that it is a *true* fact. What started to be an agreement with historical investigation turned out to be a strict separation between truth and reality. Truth is important, reality is unimportant. Christianity is truth received in and by faith, its reality is relative, and even uncertain. But to believe in the uncertain is one of the criteria of faith.

In the meantime some important events have taken place. First, the work on the history of religion in the broadest sense had not stopped. But it had turned away from theology whence it had nearly been driven out. But there were historians, philologists, and archaeologists who took over. And they did not care much about the theological development nor did they believe in the isolation of Christianity.

Yet, this is still a very small basis. For there are still very few non-theological scholars who work in the field of Christianity, although patristics, particularly, becomes more and more a field for their research. But there is a second fact.

Even the most isolating systematic theologian could not, and cannot, totally overlook the fact that Christianity itself is bound to certain historical facts. 'The Word became flesh' means, after all, that the logos, the Word, became a part of history. This was felt very deeply, especially in the Lutheran churches.

Again the difficulty of the situation was felt chiefly in the churches, and it leads in Germany to a very determined struggle of which we do not yet know the outcome. A tri-partition of the churches becomes more and more evident. The Lutheran bodies more and more oppose Barthianism, Bultmannism, etc. For them the historic facts of the New Testament, the Incarnation not only as truth, but as reality, are the bases regarded as beyond discussion. The Bible reports on these facts, and the Lutheran Creeds and Confessions guarantee the stability of this message of God's deeds in the history of Christ and the early Church right up to the Reformation and beyond. Faith is not a jumping into darkness, as it was in Barthianism, and not a paradoxical fact, but a trusting in the reality of God's revelation in Christ and in the Confessions. This same Incarnation as a reality, although as a pneumatic reality, takes place always anew in the sacraments, and therefore only the believer in this real presence of Christ in the sacrament can be admitted to it.

On the basis of this theology and church attitude a particular relation grows up towards the world in general—politics, economics, culture. Since the epiphany of God in Christ, His words, and the confessional creeds of the Reformation show themselves in the world, but do not change the world. Modern Lutheran theology and church life have no real ambition either to deny or to reform or to change economy, politics, culture. One may suffer under them or one may be happy with them: there is no situation in which God's incarnation could not take place. There has never been a real political opposition in the environment of a real Lutheran church, and there is not today. I was present at the *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag* in Leipzig in the Eastern zone last year, and it was interesting to see that there was much readiness to suffer, but no sign of any attempt among the Lutheran groups to intervene in any political or economic matters. And so it has always been. There is also no real conflict in cultural matters. Through the Incarnation the Church is incorporated in the world, but in the world as it is. Christ did not change the world before He left it or before He came. Therefore the Lutheran church and Lutheran theology can live with every form of science, art, or politics whatever. It went

comfortably along with idealism, with realism, with natural science, even with the comparative study of religion. It is interesting to know that the strictest Lutheran theological faculty in Germany, that of Leipzig, was the first and only one to have a full professorship of the history of religion, and this chair was held by the liberal-minded Nathan Söderblom, and his successor was Hans Haas, who in his study had statues of Buddha and Confucius as well as one of Christ. And this was in a room in which a severe Lutheran like Bishop Ihmels used to visit him continually.

It is evident that in such an environment Barthianism or Bultmannism could find no root-hold and were indeed not more than passing episodes. Men like Althaus always were the leading theologians. And there was never a strict isolation of Christianity as long as the Lutheran confessions were not touched. And since these were tolerant of many interpretations, there were many possibilities of interaction with the environment.

Exactly the contrary happened in the German Reformed churches. They became the nourishing ground for Christian isolationism. Isolationism, of course, does not mean inactivity, rather the contrary. At the present time it means that the Church always has to fight against something in order to prove and preserve her uniqueness, particularity, and absoluteness, to prove that she is totally different from everything else. In politics many of their ministers belong to the opposition since the official German policy is today mainly Roman Catholic, or at least they have very good reasons to believe that. In economics they take a very active part and many of them fight for equal rights together with the Trade Unions because this seems to them the Christian concept of economics. In cultural life they are strictly opposed to humanism and idealism, because there cannot be any connection between these and the totalitarian claims of Christianity. And in theology every Christian statement must be different from every non-Christian.

And yet, there is a new turn which shows already that both attitudes have come to a certain end. A new beginning in church as well as in theology seems to be near at hand.

First, in church life. The clear disintegration of the Lutheran and the Reformed type has led to an ever-growing denominationalism. Officially this denominationalism is, at present, at its highest peak. More than once the German Evangelical church threatened to break off into two parts. If it did not, it was mainly on account of the constant responsibility for the churches in the Eastern zone, which responsibility is taken very seriously. But there are four main new trends coming up against denominational isolationism.

1. Besides the confessional churches there are, in Germany, the oldest united churches in the world. Since the beginning of the

nineteenth century denominational union was not only a theological programme, but formed a new type of church. These old united churches have been many a time declared dead, but they have not only survived, but are becoming a more and more important factor. More and more they become the refuge for all those who are aware of the stagnation of confessional denominationalism. But these churches, not being based upon a creed, feel very deeply that they need new theological approaches. Up to now they have mostly consisted of a peaceful coexistence of modern pietism and mild liberalism, and the connecting link was a unanimously agreed biblicism of a very broad range. Strongly as they hold to this biblicism they feel that there have to be new ways of interpretation and that the old approaches are antiquated. There have to be found new ways of theological interpretation without falling into the Lutheran Scylla and the Reformed Charybdis.

2. There is one development in Germany parallel to yours, if I did not totally misunderstand the happenings of your splendid meeting in St. Andrews two years ago which I had the honour to attend.[1] The isolationism of the single congregation has to give more and more ground to the supra-congregational works and institutions of the Church. And now comes the problem: such larger units can exist only on the basis of a certain defined theology. But according to our insight into the freedom of the Spirit it can never be a stagnated denominational theology. To be sure, many of the churches still live on pietism and liberal ethics, but this is no longer sufficient, even for old-fashioned church work. On the other hand, the more active these works are, the less they can get along with the modern isolating and often purely negative theology. So here, too, a new theological approach is urgently desired. If I am not mistaken you are looking for a theology which keeps the truth and values of Independency and Nonconformity, though the principle of independent congregations, in fact, exists more and more in theory only. For *us* it is more necessary to find the way to a theology, which is neither clerical nor confessional, but is dynamic enough to form a *Church* that is more than the sum of individual Christians or congregations.

3. The Ecumenical Movement certainly has been a great stimulus for the churches, but till now has not done very much for theology. Seen from the necessary distance, Evanston has clearly shown, but not faced, a very critical situation. The necessity of unity is widely felt but the courage to strive for union is lacking. In my opinion the Ecumenical Movement will die or will not amount to more than a combination to meet actual secular problems if it does not gain that courage and really stand for internal union. But why is it so difficult to gain that courage? Because the

[1]Seventh International Congregational Council.

isolated theologies are stronger than a theology which really could replace the denominational standards. The Ecumenical Movement sums up Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran, Orthodox, and all kinds of other theologies, but each one, finally, goes its own way. Söderblom once believed in the possibility of an ecumenical Christian theology which, of course, must be broad and free enough not to become infallible. We certainly have to look for one.

4. The strangest event in our present situation is the totally new development in Roman Catholicism. It seems that it has left Christian isolationism in an astonishing way. Let me mention first some details which, unimportant in themselves, are, nevertheless, significant. Sometimes, indeed, one may almost think that Roman Catholicism is freer than Protestantism. Whereas the Roman priests are no longer compelled to wear their clerical dress all the time, Protestantism has strong tendencies towards clerical dress. Whereas, at least on the Continent, Protestant deaconesses conservatively cling to the often ugly and unhygienic dress of the beginning of the last century, Catholic nuns have begun to modernize their dress. The contacts of Roman Catholicism with many forms of modern life, techniques, economy, politics, including the Roman Mass on television, are surprising. But even more, Catholicism has made concessions in certain areas of Roman Catholic ethics where hitherto it has been quite unyielding. It has opened itself to other forms of Christianity and even of heathen religions, as when it accepted saints of the Orthodox churches and their ikons, and when it permitted the Malabarian rites. It tries to re-establish some Christian heretics, such as Origen, although by interpreting him absolutely in the wrong way. It has even tried to prove that Luther was a good Roman Catholic, whereas thirty years ago he was represented in the official Catholic church history as a poor insane or even devilish creature. The intermarriage between nearly all forms of modern philosophy, and even part of modern science, with Roman theology is familiar.

Yet, at the same time, Roman Catholicism, which accepts more and more all kinds of syncretistic and even un-Christian elements, isolates itself more than ever by the totalitarian centralism of popery, by the various forms of dogmatizing the goddess Mary, and many other totalitarian features. This is, indeed, a very paradoxical situation, and belongs to the great illogical possibilities of the history of religion. And the enormous question present-day Roman Catholicism brings before us, is whether we also, perhaps, must bind together all kinds of syncretistic elements in life and theology in a strict theological rule.

But what can we really do in the face of this highly complicated situation? There may be many possibilities open to us, but one

thing, certainly, is most necessary. We do begin to learn that neither a dogmatic fundamentalism nor an ethical reduction nor a deductive theology nor a positivistic existentialism nor a δὸς μοι ποῦ στῶ *Gemeindetheologie* can really face the Christian problem of today. Again, as in Reformation times, we have to guide ourselves by going back to the sources. That is to say, no biblicism without the Bible, no dogma without a thorough investigation of the history of dogma, no church constitution without knowledge of the facts, and often very hard facts, of church history, and so on. This means that we have to begin again, where we left the road about thirty years ago, and to continue in it, not in order to indulge in speculations and to hope for quick decisions, but first to find the facts.

The present situation throughout Protestantism requires this kind of theology. There are a few things on which we all agree, but very few. We agree that we do not accept some of the Roman dogmas. This is purely negative. We agree that Christ is the Lord of the world. This sounds positive, but unfortunately this is a very formalistic statement, in which neither the word Christ, nor Lord, nor world are defined. And the various and often contradictory opinions of what we believe or what we have to believe, and the impossibility of uniting them by an absolute dictation of any synod, theological teacher, or pope compels us to begin anew with the sources, which means to begin again with a new historical theology.

Of course, we cannot get back to the *consensus quinque saeculorum* since we know that this never existed. We, also, cannot go back to the historicism of the last century of theology. We, also, cannot start with a *Gemeindetheologie* of the first century, for this also is too formalistic, and besides, Christianity itself and the contents of our faith did not start with it. Still less can we start with the Reformation, for the same reasons.

There are two things theology at present and in the future has to bear in mind. First: there is no Christianity separated from history. The central foundation of the Fourth Gospel, 'The Logos was made flesh,' correctly states that the Logos became part of history. This also means that we do not meet the Logos outside history. Revelation and history cannot be separated; the attempt to separate them is the ancient experiment of the Babylonian tower, which failed. Second: history—and, according to what has just been said, revelation, too—has no zero point. This Paul emphasized long ago. Christ came within the laws of the historical time-process: he was the fulfilment, but not the beginning or the end, of a period.

Thus, in order to determine what our Christian faith really is, the dictatorial utterances of the systematic theology of the last years cannot be sufficient, since from the beginning Christianity is part of a historical *dynamis,* and is no static formula.

From this starting point our theological work has to consider the following: The 'fullness of time' in Paul; that means that the time in which Jesus appeared, lived and died, and the congregation of the believers was collected, certainly was a definite fact of what we may call 'later antiquity.' So, when we really want to know what Christianity is we cannot give any answer which can claim to be true and corresponding to reality without a thorough knowledge of the part Christianity played in later antiquity, and later antiquity played in Christianity.

This seems to be self evident, and nothing new. Was this not the problem and result of the old liberal and religious historical schools? Certainly not, and for two reasons: first, our view of later antiquity has totally changed in recent years. I need not explain this here, since eminent English scholars have done very much in changing our traditional picture of late antiquity. Let me mention only one of the most eminent of them, W. W. Tarn. As far as it concerns us here the Swiss philologist, W. Theiler, has formulated this new view in one sentence: *The movement of ancient history is the development towards religion among the Greeks according to an immanent law.* (This is not a verbal translation, which is not possible.) Now one of the most urgent needs for present day theology is to relate our new picture of antiquity to the genesis of Christianity. Here we cannot expect immediate results, but the investigation of what Christianity really is has to consider the modern results of the investigation of what later antiquity really was.

Second: it seems to me that one of the most important books in the theology of recent years is Cyril Blackman's book on Marcion. It definitely makes clear what in the modern historical theology separates us from the times of Harnack, and yet takes up the broken connections. It is the best indication of what we need and for what we have to strive. We have to recognize that there is also no zero point in church history, there is only development and fulfilment. Harnack believed that Marcion meant something new. Blackman has shown that there are thousands of fine interactions and relations which prove the dynamic, never ceasing, and never isolated or isolating movement of which Christianity consists. And this, finally, may lead to a new theology of the Spirit which we need so much. It is nearly forgotten in theology that the Spirit, according to Paul and John, is always moving and never resting. The Spirit is not wholly contained in any form of doctrine, nor church organization, nor Christian personality, but moves in them all. It is remarkable that the New Testament does not give us a chapter on the Holy Spirit dogmatically seen, but instead writes the history of the Holy Spirit. For what else is the Book of Acts?

In this regard Blackman's book has taught us more about the Spirit than all the dogmaticians of our time.

From all these observations we have to turn back to an old question which is no longer a merely historical question, but inevitable in order to understand what Christianity is: the question whether the roots of Christianity are Jewish, Greek-Hellenistic, or maybe Roman, Persian, or even something else. Much work has been done on these lines, and there has been much controversy. There were parties and opinions on the one side, and facts on the other side. One may overlook the facts for a certain time, but not always. You remember there was once, and for a long time, the controversy as to whether the Greek of the New Testament was Semitic Greek or pure Greek, or God's special language. Today we smile at that, but confront a much more difficult question. It is no longer a question of lexicography, or etymology, or Biblical systematics, but the question of reciprocity: what background belongs to a word, not only in the mind of the speaker, but also in the mind of the hearer in his general cultural background? This has been neglected. It is foolish to think anybody in Corinth heard anything of the systematic or of the Hebrew accent we still give to Paul's words. And this, finally, leads to the fact which in the present-day theology begins to bring Christianity out of isolation by much more subtle differentiation. This is not a contradiction. In differentiation we learn that there is not an abstract, one-sided Christianity, but that there is from the beginning a Greek, Roman, Aramaic, Persian, Egyptian Christianity, a Christianity of the workman, of the educated, of the slave: they are never one, but they are all interconnected as well with their background as with one another, and therefore never isolated; linked with each other by one common historic fact, the historical appearance of Jesus, and some kind of consensus-union in the following times. But *Acts* shows how hardly even this union was gained.

This is not only a problem of theological thought, but a very actual and practical one which, however, never will be solved without this historical Christian realism. Let me exemplify it with the two problems which at present are the most urgent and bitterly-felt practical problems of Christianity in Germany. The first is the rearmament problem. Here we are absolutely split, and this is not always seen. Of course, for many it is not a theological problem but merely a political one. The official line is for rearmament, in the belief that rearmament will keep the East down. But there is a very strong anti-rearmament movement, which remains still partly underground but is resolutely opposed to it and willing to act against it by active or passive resistance. But this does not concern us here. What is interesting is that the problem becomes more and more a stumbling block for Protestant theology. Both sides have

their advocates among Protestant theologians and Christian laymen. Both claim the authority of the New Testament, both confront each other with Biblical passages. The official churches did not try a union but a compromise. By the deposition of Heinemann they refused to adopt the attitude of the strict anti-rearmamentists, but by the authorization of Niemöller in one of the highest church offices, that of the Church's foreign office, it rebuffs the radical rearmamentists. The rest is left to the decision of every individual, saying that this is the Protestant way. But nobody can say that this is satisfactory. The Roman church tries to dictate in preaching a crusade, but even she has, as the movement around Wirth shows, not all her sheep in one fold. What can we do? Claiming the authority of the Bible we have not to confuse ourselves with Biblical sentences nor yet be satisfied with the opinion that the Bible has no opinion. For there is a very definite statement in the Biblical facts. Nobody can deny that neither Jesus nor any one of the Apostles tried to justify the Jewish war and its preparations. This was an actual political situation. Again, many theories of political life have been developed from Paul's attitude towards the Roman Empire, but it is a question whether we are entitled to make any such deductions without examining very strictly under what political and historical conditions Paul made his statements, which certainly cannot be transferred to every human organization which calls itself a State. There is no doubt that Paul gives the right to carry the sword to a State which punishes the wicked and protects the right, and the Roman Empire, certainly in the first and second centuries, did this so far as it is possible. But what Paul says about States with the qualities of the Roman Empire of his time is not necessarily true for every State. Again no form of theological isolation from past or present historic realities can be of any real help.

Let us look at another problem which is very much discussed in Britain, and about which I have been asked many times: the theological view of the problem of German reunification. Many ask: why do you complicate the present situation by stressing it so much? Now this question ignores the fact that this is not mainly a political or economic problem. In the Eastern zone there is Wittenberg, where the Reformation started; Eisleben, the place of Luther's birth and death; the Wartburg, where he translated the Bible. There Bach and Richard Wagner, Goethe and Schiller lived and died. There were our best Universities, our largest libraries and museums, our centres of art and music, such as Dresden and Leipzig. There is the largest part of our Protestant population. That it is partly a theological problem you may see from the fact that there is a Roman Catholic group which sails under the flag of Bernard of Clairvaux which would prefer a great Roman Catholic

State formation in Europe, and therefore is not anxious for reunification with mostly Protestant territories. So reunification is very largely a theological problem. But there is no way to determine from the Bible what price must be paid for it, since the problem of reunification of a country does not concern the historical reality of the Bible. But there is one aspect of it which can be answered from the Bible: whosoever of you knows the Eastern zone, knows also that people there are not much concerned about their low standards of life and all kinds of privations, but about their lack of freedom. And this, indeed, is a problem of the New Testament. Reunification would mean liberation in the Biblical sense, if we are really free in the West.

And, finally, there remains a very hard question, at least for us in Germany, but I think, too, in a greater or less degree, in many countries of the world. I do not think that our Western freedom is in real danger from Communism. Western Germany, at present, is immune against it. I, also, do not think it is endangered by the new nationalism, at least not in the present generation. But there is something very dangerous. We are today in Germany probably the most Christian nation in the world. The largest political party calls itself Christian, and all the other parties hunt for Christian ministers as candidates, even the old Socialists. In Parliament the Bible is quoted as often as in your Parliament in Cromwell's time. Christian leaders appear even on the postage stamps. The adviser of Chancellor Adenauer is a Roman Catholic Archbishop, and the Speaker of our Parliament is a Protestant minister. In all schools, public and private, up to four hours a week of Christian education is obligatory. New churches spring like mushrooms out of the earth. A special Secretary of State has been appointed to look after Christian family protection and the expression of the Christian spirit in public life. Christian meetings and assemblies of every kind, Christian films, Christian broadcasting and television, Christian book production, all have climbed up to enormous heights. Neither in the Middle Ages nor in the Reformation period were we such a Christian nation as we are today. And no doubt, much of it is serious and well-rooted.

But we always overdo things—and that is where we cannot learn enough from you. There is nothing in our history, no cultural, spiritual, political, economical fact or thought we did not overdo. I think this is the real mystery of our constant falling and rising again in our history. And at present we are in danger of overdoing Christianity! For it means that we go, even in Christianity, beyond our strength. And, coming back to my starting-point, this may lead to a new Christian isolationism which could become fatal because it would finally lead back to Calvin's Geneva or to the spirit of Jesuitism. And this would be the end of Christian freedom.

In order to prevent this we need the new theology, the theology of dis-isolation. In Biblical language, the ecumenical programme, 'Christ the Lord of the World,' has to be completed by the Pauline, 'The Lord is the spirit, and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.'

Only in this way shall we find the necessary approach of Christianity to the highest forms of our culture, which has been lost by yesterday's, and partly today's, theology. The constant theological attacks of Christian theologians against the two highest forms of secular human culture, humanism and idealism, which started with Barthianism, have proved detrimental and even fatal. All Christian isolation from idealism is contradictory to history and therefore unnatural, and the result is that the way for all kinds of theoretical and practical barbarisms in the world remains open. But the conception of Spirit and of freedom should bridge the gap between Christianity and idealism again, which is the easier the more we remember the strong idealistic and Platonic elements in early Christianity.

The future of Christianity in our world will mainly depend upon two things. We have to prove to the world that Christian faith, hope and love, are not sectarian hobbies on the margins of modern life but dynamic forces working in and through all forms of life, like the salt of the earth in the Gospel, very often not recognized, but never isolated from anything. We have also to know what we believe, why we love and what we hope for. This knowledge cannot be dictated by a confession, creed or pope, neither is it self-evident in our hearts through some pseudo-mystical illumination, but can only be gained with the help of a scientific theology which, since the centre of Christianity is the incarnation of God in history, has to be in a high degree historical theology. And here you and we meet naturally again on the basis of our theological tradition and the similar history of our churches.

HENRY CHILD CARTER

By E. Cunningham, M.A.

For thirty-four years, from 1910 to 1944, the pulpit of Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, was occupied Sunday by Sunday by a tall, dark minister, Henry Child Carter. He never wore a clerical collar. A plain black gown was the only robe he would tolerate. An M.A. of both Oxford and Cambridge, he wore neither white nor red hood. His coat, though dark, was never black.

He had no oratorical graces and but little gesture. He read the Scriptures as one to whom they were familiar yet ever new. His language was founded on the Bible and, in the best literary tradition of his beloved Oxford, entirely free from affectation. He did not deal with hard theology. Christ and Human Relations summed up his theme. He never laid down the law. His sermons were so simple and human that even a professor could not fail to understand them. They were written out in full in small note books. But it was never obvious that he was reading them. Indeed his handwriting was not easy to read. His voice was pleasant though not resonant. He spoke without dramatic emphasis, for his sermons were not dramatic. They were quiet talks to the heart, and were never dull or prosy. They fitted easily into a service of worship, for worship was his only aim. He loved hymns and was well versed in their authors. His prayers were in tune with his preaching, bringing us quietly into the presence of God. Here was a man who had been near to his Lord in prayer, had seen Him on the Cross and was sure of the life beyond. On 1st August, 1954, he passed into that life.

Such is my memory of the minister whose love and pastoral care I knew through all but the first year of his ministry at Emmanuel. He grew in wisdom and grace through the years and retired at the age of 68 rather than lose strength for his task. In his ministry he had the constant fellowship of a kindred spirit in the organist, Herbert Warmington, the blind, saintly musician who is commemorated on our organ screen.[1] Together they never failed to maintain an atmosphere of worship which is rarely known.

But to know and hear him in the pulpit was not all. For his great genius was in his gift of friendship. Few men had so many friends, and few have kept so many through the years. Few have had such a wide circle of correspondence. Not the least part of this gift of friendship was his habit of listening. You had but to sit with him for a few moments and you found yourself speaking freely. He had no fear of awkward pauses. Quietly he looked into the fire, lit a cigarette, and then—was he thinking or was he praying?—you were alone with him and he brought you into the

[1]See Carter's article on Warmington, *Congregational Quarterly*, October 1946. —Ed.

presence of Christ unknowing. Nor was it at all unnatural after talking over the day to day affairs of the home or church to find yourself on your knees with him on the hearthrug.

Or was it on Sunday afternoon, with every available cup brought into use, with his wife or daughter busy, though not cumbered, with much serving. The talk flowed round and round, the silent student was silent at ease, the gay and talkative fitted in without being too boisterous, while 'Father Henry', a name that gradually replaced the 'Polly' of earlier days, was just there, rarely speaking, but listening, sometimes to the chatter, sometimes quietly to one or another.

The circle was broken, and we all felt a grievous blow, when after a serious operation it became known that Mrs. Carter was stricken with a fatal illness. It seemed that we had to tread softly, for she was as much loved as he. But never was illness and suffering borne more bravely, and never were husband and wife so closely united in love and faith and confidence as Henry and Mabel during the three months in which they shared the knowledge that their earthly companionship was drawing to its close. After her passing, though it was never quite the same, students were still welcomed to the fireside, and many others widened the circle drawing together Town and University in natural friendship, until the coming of the Second Great War made it impossible to hold such parties.

It was not only students to whom he gave ear. There were all the members of the church, claiming his care; and there were others —men down on their luck, parents who came only for the christening of yet another child—who remember him as a friend. Yet one could hardly say where this gift of friendship lay. For if he saw you as he rode along on his high old-fashioned bicycle, he would dismount, stop and greet you, and then be lost for something to say. But you were glad that he had seen you. Nevertheless, and perhaps because his words were few, many will remember some phrase of his. One day my wife read to him some short verses she had written on two Oxford men, himself and another. His remark was: "I have heard worse modern poetry; keep trying": charity, humour, criticism and a revelation of his classical taste, all in eight words.

One day, someone was sympathizing with him on being left alone after his wife had passed on. Sharply he said: "I am not alone." His sense of the reality of the life beyond the grave came out again one day after the death of a friend. "The other side is becoming thickly peopled with my friends," he said. So he lived, sometimes, as it seemed, already there, present in the body, but absent in mind and spirit. Yet he was not 'other-worldly.' Back in the difficult days of the first war, he said of one who disagreed sharply with him, "I wish I could feel more charitably towards

him," simple words that spoke of the inner struggle with a nature which, but for its constant submission to his Master, he knew would be angry and passionate.

His ministry was not all peaceful. Difficult days came. He had only been minister for four years when, in 1914, the First Great War began. After sixty years of peace, interrupted only by the Boer War, and an age of belief in steady, peaceful progress, the Church was brought hard up against the issue of the Christian's relation to war. Henry's sensitive nature wrestled with the problem. At first he saw no alternative to acquiescence in the dilemma, commending the issue to God. But he could not rest there. He could not reconcile his faith in the redeeming love of Christ, crucified to save men from their sin, with the demands of war or with the belief that killing and being killed could work out the loving purposes of God. After six months came a crisis. In February, 1915, at a meeting of the Cambridge University Nonconformist Union (a society now extinct) Miss Maude Royden spoke. Bernard Manning, then a young graduate, was in the chair. The subject was "The Christian and War." Henry was sitting in a front seat. Throughout the greater part of a telling exposition of the Christian pacifist position he sat with his head in his hands and elbows on knees. Next day was a deacons' meeting. At the close he rose quickly, called me out with him and said, "I am off the fence."

From that day he never wavered in his conviction that acquiescence in war was incompatible with his belief that Christ on the Cross revealed God's way of dealing with evil, and that one who so believed could not take part in war without inner contradiction. Christ crucified and risen became more than ever the dominant note in his preaching. It gave new power to it. Many noticed it, but for a time, few knew why. His pacifism was no isolated conviction, but flowed from the heart of his faith. It was a new challenge to make the way of redeeming love the whole rule of life.

A clash and test soon came. Some differed strongly from him. He offered his resignation, but the Church Meeting would not accept it. A new body of deacons was formed. Some declined to continue, but others, not pacifist yet fully trusting him, were included. The church retained its strength and unity in diversity. His conviction never wavered. Till his death he was an active member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Christian pacifist organization formed in 1915. His faithfulness gave heart to many troubled friends who felt the clash between common opinion and the word of Church Councils that "war is contrary to the mind of Christ." That there was one whom they trusted but who did not swim with the tide, gave to them a sense that they were free to make their own decisions.

The question was never raised again. Every one knew exactly

where he stood. And so through the following thirty years, during which the strength of Congregational churches as a whole declined by a quarter, Emmanuel never went back. The end of the ministry found it stronger than ever, its financial position stable, its giving to the missionary work of the Church trebled. That this church has taken a leading place in giving to the London Missionary Society is largely the result of his never-failing interest in the outgoing ministry of the Gospel, an interest which was never academic but expressed itself so much in his friendship with missionaries. Truly his friendship extended to the ends of the world. And it returned to us in Cambridge enriched, bringing with it a lively sense of the Church universal, of Jesus Christ dying to save the whole world.

His faith was clearly shewn in his attitude to church finance. He was firmly opposed to raising money by any special efforts, bazaars or fêtes. He believed firmly in the freewill offering, in stewardship and direct giving. His faith was justified. The needs of the church were always supplied. He himself took his full share as a member of the fellowship. He had learned from his father to place the Church first in the demands made upon strength and means. More than once he told us that his father's order of priority was "Church, Sunday School, home, business." For Henry Carter, church and home were one in his Heavenly Father's business.

One feature of the years between the wars was the steady growth of denominational societies in the University. Members of the Congregational Society still wear a tie embroidered with a green parrot. At this distance in time few know its origin. At Mill Hill School, where his father and grandfather were before him, Henry inherited from his older brother, James, who had a somewhat beaked nose, the nickname of 'Polly.' This went with him to the Free Church Schools' Summer Camps, where he acted as Chaplain. From these it was brought to Cambridge by friends he there made. One Sunday afternoon at the manse after tea a procession entered led by the mascot, Polly, with the first Congregational Society tie round its neck. This was presented to the original Polly to his considerable confusion. It was a token of deep affection, trust and confidence which all members of Congregational Society had then and always. Never was there any gulf between age and youth.

I have spoken so far of the life of this church of which, for many of us, the name of H. C. Carter is for always a part. Much has happened since he retired and a great deal has been built upon foundations which he helped to lay in the lives of those who grew up with him. But his work and his friendship extended far beyond this congregation. He was a convinced Congregationalist. For him the local church under Jesus Christ its Lord was fundamental. Each member was called to accept responsibility. The minister's requests

came as commands because the authority was not his own. It was the call of the church. Believing this, he believed that every church is called to care for other churches. The sister churches in Cambridge and the county were his care. The ministers of all of them looked to him as friend. When, as was inevitable, he became Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, he gave himself with a whole heart to an effort to ease the lot of his poorer brethren in the ministry. As it proved he was years ahead of his time. It was sixteen years more before the Home Churches Fund came into existence to realize his desire.

He was not what you would call a great 'Union' man. He was never enthusiastic for the Moderator's Scheme, fearing he saw in it the beginning of central authority and dictation. For him the sole authority was in Christ, communicated to each congregation of the faithful and drawing all together in unity. In the Union, as in the church, that which drew all to him was the sense that he was the great friend of all. So, when he retired from this pastorate it was said of him by a brother minister, "He is the most loved minister in our denomination." His was a familiar figure in the pulpit among ex-Chairmen at the May Assembly. Ageing rapidly, he was in his accustomed seat as I handed over to Dr. Goodall in May, 1954. His presence brought us near to the unseen world.

In Cambridge, Cheshunt College owes much to his place among the Governors. Most noticeable was it in the interviews with candidates for admission. So too it was at his own Mansfield College in Oxford. What more embarrassing situation could there be for a young man than to be asked questions about his faith and life by a board of Governors? But Henry Carter could always ask the question which would make the candidate feel that someone understood and which would bring some real light to his colleagues in the answer.

For all his friendliness, Henry was in some sense a lonely man. He had an inner life which he took pains not to reveal. His parting with the wife upon whom he depended so much made no break in his ministry. His inner grief did not shew itself. Perhaps he lived a little more in that other world with her and brought from it a new tenderness and some of that overflowing care for others which had been her grace. The loss of his only son, Peter, was another grief. They shared a sensitive artistic touch which shewed itself in delicate pencil drawing. But Peter could not add to an artistic temperament the ballast of that deep-grounded faith of his father. Greater than these losses, however, was the perpetual struggle to submit pride and hurt feelings and anguishing confidences to the care of Christ. What the struggle was is revealed in a hymn, the last in *Congregational Praise*. Here over the signature of

Henry Child Carter is a hymn headed with the text, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" I quote one verse:

Thou knowest all my heart,
Its hidden, guilty grief:
Against myself take Thou my part,
O come for my relief.

There is one other hymn of his authorship in our book (No. 532). Dr. Erik Routley says of it: "It was written in 1917 amidst all the jingoism and clamour of those days. It was never sung; it lay buried in its author's papers until it was unearthed and submitted to the Committee preparing the new book. In the days of wrath that are upon us again, it has already proved its worth." It is a paraphrase of St. Paul's description of the Christian's spiritual armour in *Ephesians* VI. But while Paul's letter is an exhortation to the infant Church, this hymn turns it into the first person and makes it a prayer that you and I may fight the good fight with the weapons of Christ alone.

As we sing or read his words we may enter with Henry Child Carter into that never-ending fight with self which he rarely revealed, but which he knew so well, and, in which, being conquered by Christ, he stood conqueror.

E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN

By Nathaniel Micklem, M.A., D.D.

The work of theologians, I am afraid, is indispensable. It is required of us as a matter of intellectual integrity that we attempt to gather up, to subject to criticism and, so far as may be, to grasp as a whole and systematically such news of the invisible and spiritual country as the men of special insight and sensibility have been able to record for us. It is the poets and the prophets who are the seers of humanity, for, as the Athenian Stranger says in the third book of Plato's *Laws* (682), "Poets are a divine race and often in their strains, by the aid of the Muses and the Graces, they attain truth." Theologians are rarely poets; their writings, therefore, are almost inevitably of the text-book sort, and these I have learnt to hold in abomination; they are like skeletons of authors or even like those gruesome reduced human heads which are sometimes to be seen displayed in bottles on museum shelves. A text-book on the Old Testament, for instance, is apt to state in a few prosy sentences that Amos is the prophet of righteousness, Hosea of love and Isaiah, I think, of the majesty of God. Since these themes are developed elsewhere, and most notably in the New Testament, why should we trouble to read in the indignity of a translation these early and often obscure or badly transmitted prophecies? The answer must be that Amos, Hosea and Isaiah were great religious poets. What they write, therefore, is first-hand and authentic. As we read them, we may not merely become aware of the propositions implicit in their utterance but also ourselves begin dimly to apprehend the living truth which they saw with such soul-shattering vividness. I used often, therefore, to say that, when I should be released from my professional theological duties, I would in future read the theologians no more but only the Bible and the poets. I have not been able to realize my ideal. I have, indeed, refrained from reading the theologians, but I have paid far too little attention to the Bible and the poets. But here for my refreshment and, I hope, for the reader's, I propose, instead of expounding some theologian or attempting to open some profound and abstract question, to cross-question one of our modern poets. I have chosen for this experiment in vivisection one of the most remarkable men it has been my privilege to know, the late Edward Meyerstein who died in 1952.

I may by way of introduction say a word about his intellectual background. He was a classical scholar of no mean attainment, as witness his translation of Propertius, his translation of Rimbaud's *Le Bateau Ivre* into Latin hexameters and his numerous Latin

poems which appeared in the pages of *The Oxford Magazine*. He regarded himself as being at the same time a romantic poet and 'a seventeenth century throw-back.' 'However difficult it may be to believe,' he once wrote to me, 'there is no admixture of German thought (e.g. Hegelianism) in my *Weltanschauung;* what might appear to be so *prima facie* is Spinozistic.' He never read a line of Hegel, he told me: Plato, Spinoza and Traherne he calls his teachers. 'Traherne is very important,' he wrote to me (3rd April, 1950), 'for in him I find what is hardly explicit in Henry More or Thomas Vaughan, the alchemist, a sort of *Deus sive Natura,* namely, that we actually inherit Heaven here and now, if only we see with childish eyes.'[1]

If I were making any pretence of a full critique of Meyerstein's poetical work, I should have to draw attention to his curious and exact learning, to his literary skill (he was the outstanding metrist of our time), to his careful and accurate descriptions of Nature, the more remarkable in one who was by habit and choice a man of the city, and to some of the symbols which constantly recur in his poetry, candles and candle-light, for instance, the kaleidoscope, the chameleon, the yellow-hammer, his chosen bird. But I must confine myself to two questions, the nature of the poet's apprehension of truth and his vision, what he has to tell us, in respect of the ultimate issues that perplex the heart of man.

Though he forewarns us of what he calls his "barbarisms and Gothic humour," he properly describes himself as "an eavesdropper of loveliness" (Q, p. 2).

> I need not summon Beauty from the street;
> She comes to me no matter where I am (UB, p. 101).

Here we must consider the distinction between the philosopher's approach and the poet's. The philosopher kindles to a general idea, the poet to some particular and even trivial object. When "the Word of the Lord" comes to Jeremiah, it is not in the form of some vast equation such as the genius of an Einstein may indite. Rather, he sees "the rod of an almond tree." So the universal comes to the poet in the form of the particular:

> A schoolboy angered by a spluttering pen,
> A burnet-moth around a young wild-rose,
> Eight notes of Bach, a line of Landor's prose,
> The vagabond asleep on straw, the 'When?'
> On Love's frank lips, the glow-worm in the glen,
> Grey peace before the cock of morning crows (SS, p. 3).

Meyerstein is essentially a religious poet. He writes of "my questing nature, primed for God" (D, p. 18).

[1] In the following references T = *In Time of War.* S = *Selected Poems.* V = *the Visionary.* D = *Division.* UB = *the Unseen Beloved.* SS = *Sonnets.* 3 = *Three Sonatas.* E = *Eclogues.* Q = *Quartets for Four Voices.* A = *Voyage of Ass.* B = *the Boy.* DC = *the Delphic Charioteer.* VL = *Verse Letters to Five Friends.*

I cannot slake my non-material thirst
With mortal objects (UB, p. 37).

He is, as will appear, essentially a Christian poet, but in orthodoxy as such he has no interest:

Yet unto parsons spare to go,
Qui bombinant in vacuo (A, p. 18).

True, these words are put into the mouth of the Fiend, but they will stand.

I of no Church but Life's, no Romanist,
A Protestant beyond all priestly dunning,
But a sequestered moral alchemist (UB, p. 115;
cf. VL, pp. 16f).

He is no repeater of other men's thoughts. "There never was hypocrisy in me," he writes (V, p. 13); rather,

I share the secret of the birds
Interpreting their liquid words
According as they flit (A, pp. 7f).

or, in another mood,

My voice is as the finger of a child
Upon a piano in a hurricane (D, p. 42).

We are disposed to think of the poets as more concerned with Beauty than with Truth, but we may not so sunder two whom God hath joined together. Meyerstein can speak of Beauty as beyond Fate and Obligation (Q, p. 55), but he can also say,

Truth I have vowed myself to thee
Since I could think (S, p. 33).

Again,

First in my thought came still, *Is this thing true*?
Not, *oh, how beautiful this is*!: therefore
The message I could give was but for few (UB, p. 86).

To be loyal to Truth means to come to grips with "the Word" (V, p. 41); but the pursuit of Truth is no mere intellectual exercise. Knowledge is of that which seems; wisdom is of that which is (SS, p. 89). Wisdom comes from looking rather than from studying; "my skill was less to do than see" (V, p. 9), "and, as I saw, I inly seemed to grow" (V, p. 19).

The poet is concerned with Truth, but
Expect not of a poet absolute
Truth; be the intention truthful, all is well (V, p. 45).

But, if here below we cannot apprehend absolute truth, in what language is truth to be conveyed to us? The philosopher may have to use abstract terms remembering that they are but analogies and approximations. The poet, however, is exercised by the concrete, not the abstract. He beholds "emblems," as Meyerstein calls them: "life is full of emblems of the fall" (V, p. 24). Or, again,

Myth is my tongue, which means not that I cheat,
But stagger in a light too great to bear (D, p. 1).

That is why he can say, and must say, that

The sparrow on my window-sill asserts
That Christ is risen (UB, p. 37).

Moreover, Reason is not to be identified with ratiocination or the faculty of discursive thought. There is an old saying of Proclus ἐστὶ δὲ ψυχῆς αἴσθησίς τις —there is a certain perception of the soul, or, to revert to the Latin, *pectus facit theologum;* it is the heart or, perhaps rather, the whole personality, not the mere thinking part of a man, that makes a theologian. It is exactly this point which Meyerstein makes when he contrasts the dictates of "instinct," as he calls it, with the achievements of scholarly thought.

All's well when instinct leadeth (Q, p. 25); Science must be reduced to instinctive sense (D, p. 6); "truth is the child of instinct, lie of brain" (D, p. 7). By instinct, as you see, he means something very different from impulse. "Often is instinct, rarely impulse, right" (D, p. 20). We can argue ourselves into believing that black is white and right is wrong, but if we trust to Reason or 'Instinct,' we shall not go astray.

The poet is concerned with truth and not, if he be a true poet, merely with his own tiresome emotional states. He, like a prophet, has a curious sense that what is given him to see and say is not his own; he is a lute upon which the wind of the Spirit makes its own music.

Faith in myself I never had,
But in what speaks through me (T, p. 20).

The poet's inspiration is given, not thought out. If Bach's music, says Meyerstein (SS, p. 34), is a work of the intellect, then it is God's intellect rather than the composer's. The inspiration is occasional and intermittent (S, p. 38). It may come bringing a sudden change of mood; it may be that

The outer of the writer's mind was sad
But held a secret hearth of fiery glee (D, p. 46).

It would seem to have been Meyerstein's experience that poetry would arise within him when a numbness and lethargy was upon his spirit. He puts it in a sonnet thus (SS, p. 85):

When the strange power of Poetry—for I
  Can call this daemon by no other name—
  Comes over me, I do not feel a flame
Within or sudden light from out the sky,
But an intolerable lethargy,
  A mood so weighed down by a world the same
  From year to year and mankind's deathly game
So fixed and changeless that I may not cry.

And then, when this grim bondage has become,
Or seemed, at least, the habit of my soul,
And hope forgets it ever could exist,
And thought as well as hand is wholly dumb (? numb),
Sudden ! a lesion, a renewed control,
Again the rapture of the alchemist !

Meyerstein uses an image that has a long history to describe this sudden and surprising experience:

As underneath a railway-arch a bird
Will fly bewildered, and fly out again
Just as the advancing engine's shriek is heard:
Even so spasmodic in a world of pain
Comes revelation's shadow on the wall
Of our much shaken sense, and we attain. . . . (D, p. 21).

But what is the content of this rapt poetic experience? Meyerstein makes Spinoza say that

the one land,
The only land, to which the Jew or any
Mortal, whatever his religion be,
Returns, is God, the *Unica Substantia* (E, p. 41).

The mystic vision is in some sense an experience of union with the Divine. Meyerstein puts it in Aristotelian terms as "the act of seeing, in which both seer and thing seen are one" (V, p. 20). He contrasts himself with the great mystics, yet claims some affinity with them:

I indistinctly see a light and shout,
But they regarded with a steady eye,
Moving within the sphere I move without (V, p. 23).

He can even use the familiar language of pantheism:

Then suddenly I knew a great togetherness . . . .
I was the universe, and singularity
Was purged away with thy unrest, Desire (Q, p. 53);

but this is an aspect or mood of his experience, not its dominant note. More typical of his deepest thought or insight, as we shall see, is the vision that came to him unsought in Oxford at Evensong in Magdalen College Chapel (V, pp. 22f):

But of one eve especially I bear
Inviolable remembrance, when was sung
Quid prodest, o mortalis, Haydn's air.

My senses instantaneously were flung
Beyond the Chapel and the burning wicks
Against a beam whereon a Figure hung;

And I perceived it was the crucifix
(A Christ of silver nailed to mother-of-pearl)
Out of my bedroom, by the shaving sticks,

But in the candle's and the anthem's swirl
Grown to the stature of the real Cross,
And raised where Oxford's Broad Street joins her Turl;

And, in that ecstasy, the utter loss
Of all delight or worldly betterment
Soothed me like resting with my face on moss.

So, till the last breath of the choir was spent,
I was, as never since, caught up in Christ,
And went back to my room not knowing I went.

The sense of revelation could persist
Beyond the voices and beyond the flame,
Suffering me to cry, 'He *does* exist!'

And all excitements seemed thereafter tame;
And though at whiles I sought to win once more
That vision, never sang the choir the same,

And closed, as soon as opened, was that door.

Revelation must always be in some degree ineffable, for in the moment of vision the intellectual element, though not absent, is quiescent. The intellect awakens when we seek to describe that which we have seen, and it is here that error creeps in, partly because of the *patrii sermonis egestas* or indeed the inadequacy of any human speech and partly because our stumbling, flat, one-dimensional propositions must always fall far short of the whole that we have seen. Most of us, whose visions are not vivid and secure, are content to give our assent as from a great distance to the formulae which are traditional in our religion. But the poet, whose eye is keen, is bound in honour to tell us as exactly as he can what he himself has seen or thinks that he has seen, whether or not his vision is congruous with the formulae of tradition. I pick out for mention three aspects of the heavenly country which Meyerstein seems to have seen with unusual clarity or from an unusual angle.

First, then, there is his thought of death. Professor Dingle in his very instructive volume *Science and Literary Criticism* observes that the poet Wordsworth believed in immortality but had no hope of it; at least, it was no matter of eager hope and solace to him. We may contrast him here with Johann Sebastian Bach of whom Dr. Albert Schweitzer wrote: "This robust man who seems to be in the thick of life with his family and his work, and whose mouth seems to express something like a comfortable joy in life, was inwardly dead to the world. His whole thought was transfigured by a wonderfully serene longing for death. Again and again wherever the text affords the least pretext for it, he gave voice to this longing in his music; and nowhere is his speech so moving as in the cantatas in which he discourses on the release from the 'body of this death.' Meyerstein is in this like Bach; and it was he who drew my attention (on a postcard dated 1st April, 1950) to a letter

in which Mozart wrote, "As death, strictly speaking, is the end and aim of our lives, I have for the last two years made myself so well acquainted with this true, best friend of mankind, that his image no longer terrifies, but calms and consoles me. And I thank God for giving me the opportunity (you understand)[2] of learning to look upon death as the key which unlocks the gate of true bliss. I never lie down to rest without thinking that, young as I am, before the dawn of another day I may be no more; and yet nobody who knows me would call me morose or discontented. For this blessing I thank my Creator every day, and wish from my heart that I could share it with all my fellow-men" (from Emily Anderson's translation of Mozart's letters, cited by Grove). Not dissimilarly Meyerstein can speak of Death as a "lovely little child" (S, pp. 41f), of Death as the doctor and the friend (*ib.*, p. 43). He can speak of his "great desire to die" (D, p. 36). He knows Death "like a brother" (SS, p. 88). In war-time he can write:

> Death, the sweet bourne of all my faith, is God;
> I must not rush to God, but let Him come.
> Meanwhile anticipation is delight! (T, p. 24).

And when enemy planes are overhead, he cries:

> A raid! A raid! I catch the breath of God!
> The distant drone is He! (T, p. 24).

We should certainly do ill to brush this aside as a morbidity. Moreover, I do not understand Meyerstein to mean that death is, as it were, intrinsically good. He is the learned biographer of Chatterton in whose pitiful death he yet discerns the note of redemption: (E, p. 105):

> This, this, no martyrdom,
> Apotheosis rather! From such dying
> Life, life denied, upsprings (E, p. 107).

But, for all that he has so much to say of death, and has told some grim and gruesome stories in his poetry, Meyerstein is essentially a world-affirming rather than a world-denying poet. He shares "our inward vision that the world is good" (V, p. 44). He testifies to "the renovelance of things" (Q, p. 4); yet he is always aware of the tragic ambiguity of life and of this world:

> Ding, dong bell!
> The world has gone to hell,
> And yet there is no hell (Q, p. 2).

There is joy in his writings; there are also, and most notably, terror, tragedy, sin and redemption. His insight into redemption, cast in a form very different from that of our traditional theologies, is the second element in his vision to which I would direct attention.

The theme of redemption in his writing occurs most frequently

[2]An allusion to the doctrine of the Freemasons.

in connection with the sin of murder. I doubt whether any other poet has written so often about murder. Three sonnets in particular (SS, pp. 62, 67, 68) indicate the poet's personal knowledge of a murderer whom, it seems, he visited in prison. One of these describes the young murderer "erect, unmoved" hearing his sentence, and the poet is reminded of the yellow-hammer!

> He was the bird, and still he sang,
> Though silent, an air heard by me,
> And only me, an air of joy,
> Because he hoped that he would hang,
> And die from woman's nature free.

Though in a long rhymed piece, 'Briancourt,' he has analysed the mind of a seventeenth century poisoner, the Marquise de Brinvilliers, the species of murder that occupies most of Meyerstein's attention is passionate killing on the part of adolescents, that is, murder with an admixture, if not from a motive, of perverted or unregulated idealism. That strange doctrine of Chatterton to which he first drew attention in his *Life* of that young poet (p. 315),

> For howsoever Casuists disagree
> It is a Tenet Orthodox with me
> That crimes which merely from the blood arise
> Are held no crimes in the Immortal's eyes,

seems to have played no small part in the curious pity with which he views such juvenile aberrations.

There is in Meyerstein no light-hearted amoralism, for "who sees Heaven, by that same grace sees Hell" (V, p. 30). Murder may be taken as representing sin in its ultimate form; it brings its inevitable penalty; yet apart from moments of ecstacy as in Magdalen College Chapel nowhere is Meyerstein so sure of Christ as in the presence of murder.

> We thrive,
> By Christ, not woman; through Him we arrive
> At the miraculous haven where all wrecks
> Are dry and safe, the crews upon their decks
> Hale, with eyes full of light, wherein they live.
> This truth was taught me by a murderer (SS, p. 62).

He visits the murderer in prison after sentence and writes:

> No, not the memory of the helpless dead,
> Nor freezing obduration, could unweave
> The nimbus of Christ's mercy from that brow
> (SS, p. 68; cf. B, p. 62).

We are familiar with the notion that even a murderer, if he repent, may be forgiven by the grace of God. This, however, is not Meyerstein's point, if I understand him. His outlook is not unethical (cf. 3, p. 5, D, p. 32), but he has a most vivid sense of Christ's self-identification with all humanity and more particularly

with the outcasts and sinners. To use old theological language, more firmly grasped in Eastern religious thought than in Western, Christ has taken our nature upon Him; He has identified Himself with all mankind; He is the Saviour of the world in spite of the world's 'freezing obduration.' Meyerstein does not condone evil but often returns to the thought that out of evil God brings good. A blessing can even be derived from "the irrationality of everything that is," since, apparently, it presents "a Pisgah-sight of present immortality" (V, p. 44). He tells of a "hare-brained youth" who after committing a double murder killed himself (D, pp. 14f), and he reflects that

> Although it did not me befall
> To know him, I saw one predestinate
> To live his life with no good done at all;
> And therefore, since each thing has its own fate,
> The good that he must do is after death,
> Or that I must believe, at any rate.

The murderer may be compared to Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust* who always seeks the evil and achieves the good. Thus

> Who dies for violent deed
> Another's luck may speed,

and

> The wicked have a charm
> To keep the good from harm (Q, p. 29).

But all this in Meyerstein's thought is not apart from Christ. If

> A wrong done is a right
> Looked at in a different light (S, p. 8),

that is only because there is a "redeeming Energy" (SS, p. 91) in the universe; "it is Christ's blood purging the world's remorse" (SS, p. 33). The terror and horror of the world which yet are redeemed are imaged forth in the likeness of the dead hedge-hog on which a thrush stands singing, and "with its ecstasy all nature rang" (D, p. 71).

"Even the weakest are redeemed in heaven," he writes (V, p. 10), and "No soul is forfeit; all doth Jesus buy" (DC, p. 42). There is no escaping from Christ. Typical of outcast and suffering humanity is the Jewish nation; hence they are represented as crying out,

> Can we be mad? or can the Race be Christ?
> Can God in man be God in Israel? (SS, p. 102).

This very moving poem *In Exitu Israel* ends on this note:

> For we have seen the ladder and the ark,
> The tables broken, the veil rent in twain;
> We hear the *sabachthani* through the dark:
> And One that rose shall rise in us again
> (SS, p. 105; cf. D, p. 30).

The Jews are they that have rejected Christ, but that makes no difference; they cannot so escape from Him. Meyerstein under the mask of Spinoza says of them:

> Now watch these flies
> Trying to free themselves from gossamers:
> So do my people from the web of Christ (E, p. 43).

All mankind is inescapably enfolded in the divine love made known in Christ. Meyerstein maintains

> That life is less a ray than a cocoon
> Which wraps us round till we are fit to teach;
> And that redemption comes not late or soon,
>
> Being present everlastingly in each
> Strand of the silk which is a hair of Christ,
> Whom it was never needful to beseech,
>
> Since every prayer, like every child, is kissed
> Before its face was lifted up for that,
> Love being what no blindness may resist:
>
> Thus sing the saved, the Ark on Ararat (V, pp. 50f).

I must come, and that briefly, to the last aspect of Meyerstein's thought to which I am inviting attention. Here, I suggest, he is, so far as language is concerned, at the remotest pole from the strenuous example and bracing metaphors of the apostle Paul, yet, as I suppose, is expressing some part, at least, of the doctrine of justifying faith. We are, indeed, familiar from Scripture with the exhortation to 'stand still and see the salvation of your God,' to 'rest in the Lord, wait patiently for him.' These ideas are represented by Meyerstein in his doctrine of Sloth. We have been taught to regard Sloth as one of the seven deadly sins, but Sloth, as Meyerstein uses the term, is almost the first of virtues, a poet's odd word for faith. Sometimes he speaks of Sloth, sometimes of Apathy, a Stoic word (Q, p. 7), and sometimes even of Accidie, traditionally another name for sin. He speaks of himself as seeking "a death in life that is no death but fuller life" (D, pp. 53f); this he seeks not in speculation or orthodoxy or manual labour or religious exercises:

> Seek must I an obscure, a personal plan,
> For that is Christ, not the repeated din
> Of prayer and psalm and agonized 'I can.'

Most men, he says, are busy preaching what they believe and writing books about it, and there is a war on,

> When every sky is sibilant with wings,
> When every office quick with female haste,
> When every clerk a puppet pulled by strings,

but for him "the white dawn-ray in the soul's drear wood" is Sloth, and "what if *this* be the Saviour, Accidie?" We should greatly wrong Meyerstein if we are minded to think this unworthy, the

attempted and contented apology for himself made by a poet who through chance of circumstance was involved neither in industry nor in war. He is not justifying himself; he is expounding something that he has seen.

> Why should I strain my spirit, having learnt
> That effortless endeavour is the best,
> And brings reward most often, not the burnt
> Cakes of the World, but Heaven's Wafer blest?
>
> Let me be ever, ever thus, not slow,
> But patient with a purgèd accidie.

(From a poem he sent me on 30th May, 1950, called *The Starlings* and not printed as far as I know.) To consider the lilies, to throw away self-will, to be 'an uncompetitive, yet kindled, soul'—that is the way of salvation (D, pp. 90f).

I hope I have not seemed to depict Meyerstein as a theologian or a philosopher or a dogmatist. He is a poet; he teaches through hints and intimations; his method is episodic, not systematic; but what he writes is authentic and first-hand. He tells us what he has seen or thinks that he has seen. He can offer but one man's testimony; but a poet is one who more than most is sensitive to that spiritual or super-natural environment which impinges upon us at all times. Man has a soul that

> beats the bar
> To songs and sounds unheard (S, p. 34).

It is out of the darkness that the poet speaks; and if his words are light, he more than most knows the dark night of the soul; most certainly such was Meyerstein's experience, and yet he came to write:

> I thank Thee, God, that I am in Thy hand,
> That foolish, broken, helpless, proved unfit
> To guide, by subtle test of human wit,
> I yet possess the grace to understand
> That every fact concerning me is planned,
> And nothing that I do can alter it (T, pp. 23f).

In the larger world of history we cannot tell what is the pattern which the Eternal Spirit is weaving through our troubled days; even what we ourselves are making in our lives is hidden from us.

> The building that I have set up
> Will not be viewed before my death.
> For I must drink of Jesus' cup,
> And true is every word He saith (T, p. 12).

MUSIC AND WORSHIP[1]

By Peter Taylor Forsyth, D.D.

We cannot separate music and worship; the only question is how to combine them. And the chief justification for instrumental music in church is the help it gives to this end. If it separates music from worship, the instruments are better away. They are better away if they preoccupy the church with feelings or suggestions which are of the world (like the theatre or concert, etc.), or those which are aesthetic rather than spiritual. Concert pieces, or music in that style, may be foreign to the spirit of worship. It may be religious but not worshipful. One could but welcome the movement by Pope Leo xiii to chasten his church music, and eject the modern style which was destroying worship; though it seems going very far to use in the Sistine Chapel nothing later than Palestrina. Yet church music does not call for second-rate composers but for first-rate ones who keep art in the second place.

Music arose in Christian worship first, historically, from the custom of the Jewish Church; second, religiously, from Christian hymns, like the *Magnificat, Nunc dimittis,* or *Te Deum,* which sprang from the overflow of the Christian heart; and, thirdly and practically, it arose as a vehicle for the contagious expression of truth in the early Church. The creeds were sung. At a later date music gave wings to the Reformation in hymns like Luther's; and those of early Methodism from Wesley did the like. And it may be noticed here that much of what is foolish and offensive in the way of hymns is found in those which aim at attracting or impressing the public rather than expressing the Church and its truth. Church music is there to express the Church rather than draw the world. Praise is more essential to the Church than popularity.

At first Christian worship was of the simplest kind, therefore its music was by the voice alone. This was caused also by the separation of the Church from Judaism and its protest against it. In respect of music there was both a legacy from Judaism and a reaction from it. The Jewish temple ritual was elaborate, antiphonal, and instrumental. It is a mistake to suppose that the Jews were Puritans in this regard, or in the matter of colours, as they were in images. But the synagogue worship was much quieter, and had more effect on the Christian Church. There was reaction from

[1]This article has been found by Mrs. Jessie Forsyth Andrews among her father's papers. It appeared originally in an American journal, *The Homiletic Review,* in January, 1914.—Ed.

the temple but continuity with the synagogue. As Greek influence grew in the Church, its effect is seen not only in theology, but also in the abjuring of instrumental praise. Hellenism seems to have had no instrument in its ritual. The Christian praise was by voice almost entirely; as in the pagan world instruments were associated with wordly passion and frivolity; and the great soul-music was yet unborn. But the slow reception of the Apocalypse into the Church still did something to foster the ideal of instrumental, choral, and cosmic praise with trumpets, harps, and hosts.

This tendency was encouraged still more by the great influence of the Gregorian School of Music at Rome about 600 A.D. And then came the invention of the organ, about the time of Charlemagne (say 800 A.D.). It was truly a providential gift. It made possible the development of harmony, the great feature of modern and western music; and it gave effect to the deep, complicated, yet reconciled and triumphant range of soul opened by Christianity.

Christianity has created music as a great art. But it has also developed a special and appropriate form of music for its own emotions of solemn cosmic power and peace. It created church music, with the same technical laws as all music, but a regenerate spirit. The organ arose to express this rich Christian soul. Most peoples have a national instrument; the organ is the instrument of the spiritual nation and people of God. It is the supreme instrument for worship.

For, in the first place, it is the instrument which draws the material world most fully to participate in the vast hymn of redeemed humanity. An orchestra would do this; but the organ abolishes the distractions and impertinences of a numerous orchestra, as Wagner hides his band under the stage.

In the next place, the organ is uncongenial to the music of passion, to what Meredith calls the "blood-emotions." It is not exciting, but composing, solemnizing. It has not thrill but elation, not a cry but a peal. The violin trembles, the organ rolls. The one goes up to God for mercy, the other comes down with grace's majesty to man.

Further, the symbolism of the organ is attractive for the community of the kingdom of God and its inspiration. The same wind among all the pipes is like the one Holy Spirit on the diversity of souls. The Spirit draws a different note from each, and makes harmony and reconciliation from all at the will of one. Of the many voices, not one is without signification.

We are, mankind is, an organ whose maker and builder is God. His Spirit draws from each soul its own note in a vast concert. Redeemed humanity is the final music and the perfect praise; and nothing but music, and orchestral music, can express at present

anything so passing knowledge. One need not do more here than refer in the by-going to Milton's *At a Solemn Music*, and Browning's *Abt Vogler*.

Once more, liturgically, the Church felt the disorderliness and poverty of a mass of people taking part in worship on a spoken note. There was a loss of beauty, of solemnity, and especially of the unity, the decency, and order which worship implies. To express the soul of a mass of people calls for music, either as song or as oratory.

Art is not artificial. Our age and society become more musical. Music becomes a more common, and therefore a more natural, vehicle of expression. Hence worship becomes more musical without being less natural. We need simplicity, but there is one thing we need more, namely, naturalness, sincerity. An affected simplicity is false and unfit for worship. And it is very common. Now what is the form of worship natural to a crowd? Something musical. In private worship a sober simplicity may be natural, and a conversational note. But public worship is not simply private worship in public. It is not individual prayer overheard. So also with praise. It has the corporate note. Hence we do not sing lyrics but hymns—less poetic, perhaps, but more to the purpose. We should not pray or praise in public as we do in private. There is a volume, a compass, a reserve, a dignity, and even a stateliness, in public worship which cannot and need not be in private. And there is an intimacy in private worship which, in public, is undue. So to make public worship natural we need music, and even an instrument to give it an expression natural to its collective and congregational quality and dignity. People in church join in a musical tone where they are afraid of their own voices in a spoken note; and they go to worship where they get this vehicle. It is useless to complain of their not going to church if you refuse such means to make the service both congregational and beautiful—so long as it is earnest and sincere. What combines these public requirements is music—so long as the musicians do not take command. May I repeat that church music is there first for the church and its uses, and only next for the public; it is for praise, not enjoyment; it is spiritual, not aesthetic. The anthem is not a performance to conciliate a choir, but a sung sermon—a text with a musical commentary, where the comment should take its modest place, and where self-exhibition is sacrilege.

Life is made up of prose and poetry. The prose of Christian life is work, conduct, duty and even drudgery. The poetry of it is worship. And both high poetry and high worship run to song, to music. Music is the heart's release; so also is worship. The atmosphere of common worship therefore is music. The worship of the congregation takes musical expression in tune; the worship

of the preacher takes it in eloquence. And both are escapes from baldness, both uplifted naturalness, speech born again. Poetry is home-sickness till it becomes Christian; then it is home-communion.

Worship is an expression of feeling, and feeling runs to music. Opera can be more true than drama, and that than narrative. It used to be said, "What is too poor to say, sing." So we have our dreadful, nauseous drawing-room songs, debasing both art and sentiment. But it is truer to put it thus, "What is too deep and fine to say, sing." Worship, as the Church's self-expression, runs to sacred art, which is the ample transfiguration of natural feeling; and, among the arts, it runs to music. And it does so first because that is the art of relief to the surcharged heart. The soul, smitten by the world, groans; but, smitten by God, it sings, as Memnon sang at the touch of light. Even creeds, I have said, were first sung, when belief was satisfying and joyful. Then worship runs to art, secondly, because music is the most spiritual and least material of all the arts. The sense medium is almost refined away. It is the soul itself in vibration.[2] Thirdly, because music is communal.

It is true, there is a worship too deep even for song, for music. We simply listen, and despair of expressing ourselves.

> Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
> Are sweeter.

The deepest, heavenliest melodies are heard by the rapt soul. The truth of heaven strikes music from earth, but the music of heaven, when heard, strikes earth dumb. Hence the art in common worship must not be too high. It has a subdued, modest sense of its own inadequacy. One thinks of Raphael's St. Cecilia. At the singing of the angelic choir, heard through a rift in heaven, she forgets her instruments in rapture (even the small organ in her hand, which has outlived all the rest ere it breaks down). Magdalen forgets her sin and self. Paul forgets both book and sword, both theology and warfare. John is in his element, and Augustine's passion is lost in sympathetic gaze at John.

But congregational worship is not of that mystic, rapt, and lonely sort. And musical worship should be congregational. It may be as elaborate as you like within that limit. If a picked chorus formed the whole congregation, the music might be highly artistic and yet natural and easy. But for most congregations it is responses, prayers, chants, hymns. Whatever it is, it should be congregational. To leave the singing to the choir or the praying to the minister is popish. It is strange that some should think it a rag and relic of Rome to have a congregational share by musical responses in prayer. It is just the opposite of Romish. Without abolishing anything so valuable as extempore prayer, the congregation should

[2]See my *Christ on Parnassus,* Chapter VIII.

assert its place, and insist on participating publicly in the prayers—publicly and musically; since, as I have said, we get far more participation in a sung note than in a spoken.

In Romanism the minister is not simply a leader but a priest—he acts in place of the congregation, which he rules more than he represents. So the choir was at first composed of clergy. They did the singing. The congregation was excluded, as is still the case in Italy. The choir there does not lead, but monopolizes, as clericalism always does. But in Protestantism, in the Teutonic nature, in democratic conditions, the congregation is the choir, the anthem is quite subordinate to the hymn or chorale. The choir so-called is only a leader, for use and service. And in the same way, the minister in worship is no priest, no substitute, but a guide. It is a rag of popery to let the choir alone sing, and to let the minister alone pray. He is no leader, if he do not lead, if no voice and tone follow his voice, if he monopolize the speaking to God. And it is a burden which tends to injure him, as many could tell.

But, if praise be congregational, if it be worship and not exhibition, the music and the organ must also keep their proper place. The machine is the organ of the soul. The service of worship should never be a recital, or in any way preoccupied with instrument or artist. There are other occasions for that. The first place belongs to the intelligible word, the uttered word of truth and grace. The main thing of our Protestant worship is not our message to God, but God's to us. The people's tribute to God in worship is stirred by God's gift to his people. And that is the gospel word. Everything is created by God's gospel to us. Faith comes of hearing and grows into love. We must urge the supremacy and primacy of the word. God's living Word, Christ, is at the source of creation's praise. How truly the great musicians feel the need of the intelligible word to crown all the instruments can say! Wagner remedied by poetry music's defect. But the classic illustration of this is in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, where the instruments of all the orchestra are unable to utter the joy of the universe, and the voice and the word must come in to help the players out, and to crown the praise with the poet's glorious strain.

May I quote from myself on this great work?

> The hunger of the heart is ever for fullness and satisfied joy. It is starved and vexed among the riddles, failures and tragedies of life. It remains empty and aching, after all the charm of nature and the spell of art. Not there do we find that solid fullness of reality which permanently fills and purifies the soul. And nowhere, perhaps, in all the soul's own art of music, has this hunger for joy and praise, this passion for fullness, appeasement and finality, been set forth as it is in this symphony set forth in its first collision with life's untoward-

ness, its storm, pathos, and colossal despair, and in its final conquest of them all.

In the last movement, it has been said by a genius as great as Beethoven himself, the music becomes "of a speaking kind." The voice takes the place of the band. Poetry comes to the rescue of music. The passionate thought moves onward and upward, and instruments are found to be too weak and vague in what they convey. Something more positive, more explicit, more rational is demanded by the labouring idea than the emotional utterance of musical sound. Something more is wanted, to give the soul not only foothold but body, form, expression, and action. Inarticulate sound, however fine, mystical, and musical, is not enough to express the complete human spirit in its supreme effort to assert its final place in the universe of life. So the chorus of human voices breaks in on the summit of the instrumental struggle. The chorus enters with the living and corporate word, and carries the thought and feeling to its divine release and final height. It is no mere device, no feat of skill, no triumph of musical ingenuity, no invention of amazing cleverness and resource. Great inspiration does not work so. It is all forced on the artist by the spiritual necessity of his idea and the native movement of his mighty thought. His thought must pass beyond mere sound, and become a word. There descends a living, human, reasonable word on the crown of this great instrumental creation, to save it from inadequacy and collapse. The chorus breaks in with Schiller's sublime "Ode to Joy," a joy not in nature but in grace, in the promise and gift of universal love for all mankind.

Be embraced in love, ye millions,
  Here is joy for every one.
Far above yon sky pavilions
  Stands our common Father's throne.

Above all the metallic orchestra of civilization there must emerge the human and corporate Word, Christ. Human concord, the joy of earth, the soul of the soul, and the grace of God can receive their consummation only in the enthronement of Him who is the living Son of God, God's intelligent and articulate word, the final, royal Christ. God, man, and nature can find the fullness of their utterance only in a human rational, loving, redeeming Word.

Even art feels, as faith knows, the fullness of completed being and its flush of perfect joy to be in that saving work of love which broke on the world in the cross to make men redeemed brothers in Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father.

CHARLES WESLEY AND MATTHEW HENRY

By Erik Routley, M.A., B.D., D.Phil.

Dr. Henry Bett placed us all very heavily in his debt when he wrote his now well-known book, *The Hymns of Methodism*. The object which that book so felicitously achieved was to give some indication of the wealth and depth of Charles and John Wesley's culture, to keep us mindful of the colourful richness of the treasury of which, in their hymns, they made the church free.

There is one source, however, which Dr. Bett almost missed. He did not wholly miss it, for there is indeed, on page 97 of his book (I refer to the revised edition of 1945) one reference to Matthew Henry's *Commentaries*. That reference we will quote at once, for it is in itself significant enough. The verse under review is this:

> Its streams the whole creation reach,
> An ocean without shore:
> Enough for all, enough for each,
> Enough for evermore.

With this Dr. Bett invites us to compare a phrase in Matthew Henry (on Exodus xxxiv: 6[1]).

> The springs of mercy are always full, and streams of mercy always flowing. There is mercy enough in God, enough for all, enough for each, enough for ever.[2]

Now that is not a passing coincidence. Looking further into this matter, I venture the judgment that Matthew Henry was Charles Wesley's primary inspiration when he was writing in a certain manner. That is to say, that although we must admit (on the evidence of Dr. Bett) that Charles Wesley was able to draw on every kind of literary source, sacred and secular, for his turns of phrase and associations of thought, when it was a matter of expounding a Scriptural text, there was nobody like Matthew Henry for him. I verily believe that when he was moved to write a strictly Scriptural hymn, he turned first to Matthew Henry to see what ideas the venerable Puritan commentator was prepared to share with him. Sometimes no doubt he left Matthew Henry as he found him. But there are enough examples, even on a comparatively superficial investigation, to show that at other times he helped himself very freely to the wisdom of the greatest of classical exegetes.

[1]Misprinted 'Exodus xxiv 6' in Dr. Bett's book.

[2]Mis-quoted 'enough for evermore' in Dr. Bett's book. The quotations in this article are from Ward, Lock's (5 vols.) edition.

Here then are a few comparisons. Let us take first the hymn, 'A charge to keep I have'. The governing text here is Leviticus VIII: 35, 'Keep the charge of the Lord, that ye die not'. Here is a passage from Matthew Henry on that verse:

> We have every one of us a charge to keep, an eternal God to glorify, an immortal soul to provide for, needful duty to be done, our generation to serve; and it must be our daily care to keep this charge, for it is the charge of the Lord our Master, who will shortly call us to an account about it, and it is at our utmost peril if we neglect it. Keep it 'that ye die not'; it is death, eternal death, to betray the trust we are charged with; by the consideration of this we must be kept in awe.

A charge to keep I have,
A God to glorify,
A never-dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky;
To serve the present age,
My calling to fulfil:
O may it all my powers engage
To do my Master's will.

Arm me with jealous care
As in thy sight to live;
And O thy servant, Lord, prepare
A strict account to give!
Help me to watch and pray,
And on thyself rely;
Assur'd, if I my trust betray,
I shall for ever die.[3]

Another short hymn in the same style, obviously owing much to Henry, is 'Ye that do your Master's will', (*Congregational Praise* 239). Here is the old commentator on Zephaniah II: 3; 'Seek the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgment; seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger':

> Observe (1) how they are described—they are 'the meek of the earth' or 'of the land'. It is the distinguishing character of the people of God, that they are 'the meek ones of the earth'; this is their badge, it is their livery: they are modest and humble, and low in their own eyes, they are mild and gentle, and yielding to others, not soon angry, not very angry, not long angry, they are 'the quiet in the land' (Psalm 35: 20). And they are subject and submissive to their God, to all his precepts and all his providences. . . . They have wrought his judgments, have obeyed his laws, observed his institutions. . . .

[3]Quoted, as are most of the hymns in this article, from the 1782 edition of *Hymns for the People called Methodists.*

(2) What they are required to do: they must 'seek the Lord' . . . they must 'seek righteousness' . . . they must 'seek meekness': this is a grace they were so eminent for that they were denominated 'the meek of the land'; and yet this they must 'seek'. Note, those that are ever so good, must still strive to be better, those that have ever so much grace, must be still praying and labouring for more.

Ye that do your Master's will,
Meek in heart, be meeker still;
Righteous, still yourselves confess
Seekers after righteousness;
Gracious souls, in grace abound,
Seek the Lord whom ye have found.[4]

The second of the two verses develops along fresh lines, and does not reproduce anything in Matthew Henry.

Our third example is yet another short hymn, 'Captain of Israel's host' (*C.P.* 496, Part I). Here the text is Exodus XIII: 21, 'And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light'. Here is Matthew Henry:

Those whom God brings into a wilderness, he will not leave nor lose there, but will take care to lead them through it; we may well think it was a very great satisfaction to Moses and the pious Israelites, to be sure that they were under divine guidance. *They* needed not to fear missing their way, who were thus led, or being lost, who were thus directed; *they* needed not to fear being benighted, who were thus . . . protected. They who make the glory of God their end, and the word of God their rule, the Spirit of God the guide of their affairs . . . may be confident that 'The Lord goes before them', as truly as he went before Israel in the wilderness, though not so sensibly; we must live by faith.

Captain of Israel's host and guide
  Of all who seek the land above,
Beneath thy shadow we abide,
  The cloud of thy protecting love:
Our strength, thy grace, our rule, thy word,
Our end, the glory of the Lord.

By thine unerring spirit led,
  We shall not in the desert stray,
We shall not full direction need,
  Or miss our providential way;
As far from danger as from fear,
While love, almighty love, is near.

To these hymns, in which Charles Wesley appears to be almost paraphrasing Matthew Henry, I would add a few more, in which

[4]Not in the 1782 book: but this is the original reading of verse 1.

we may reasonably say that an association of thoughts or texts has been suggested to him by a reading of the Commentaries. It is difficult, for example, to ascribe the origin of 'Christ, whose glory fills the skies' (*C.P.* 594) elsewhere than to this passage in the Commentary on Malachi IV: 2, 'Unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise':

> Christ is the Light of the world, the true Light, the great Light that makes day, and rules the day (John VIII: 12) as the sun; he is the 'Light of men' (John I: 4), is to men's souls as the sun is to the visible world, which without the sun would be a dungeon; so would mankind be darkness itself without the light of the glory of God shining in the face of Christ. . . . This sun of righteousness, in the fullness of time, arose upon the world, and with him light came into the world (John III: 19), a great light (Matt. IV: 16). In him the day-spring from on high visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness (Luke I: 78). . . . The souls on which the Sun of righteousness rises are growing up toward the perfect man; those that by the grace of God are made wise and good, by the same grace are made wiser and better; and their path, like that of the rising sun, shines more and more to the perfect day (Proverbs IV: 18).

'O thou, who camest from above' (*C.P.* 438) probably traces at least one of its trains of thought back to this, on Leviticus VI: 13, 'The fire shall ever be burning on the altar' which we know to have been the text from which Charles Wesley here began:

> We are taught to keep up in our minds a constant disposition to all acts of piety and devotion, an habitual affection to divine things, so as to be always ready to every good word and work. We must not only not 'quench the Spirit', but we must 'stir up the gift' that is in us. Though we be not always sacrificing, yet we must keep the fire of holy love always burning; and thus we must pray always.

The last verse of 'Rejoice, the Lord is King' (*C.P.* 161) suggests this, on the Ascension story as it is recorded in Acts 1:

> 'He is gone up with a shout, and with the sound of a trumpet' (Psalm XLVII: 5), and he will descend from heaven with a shout, and with the 'trump of God' (I Thess. IV: 16). Ye have now lost the sight of him in the clouds, and 'in the air'; and 'whither he is gone ye cannot follow him now', but shall then, when ye shall be 'caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air'.

> Rejoice in glorious hope,
> Jesus the Judge shall come,
> And take His servants up
> To their eternal home.
> Ye soon shall hear the archangel's voice:
> The trump of God shall sound: Rejoice!

The astonishing richness of Charles Wesley's greatest conception, 'Wrestling Jacob' (*C.P.* 495) has much more in it than any single commentator; but we may believe that he began by turning up Matthew Henry on Genesis XXXII: 24 ff; this passage may have given him at least one idea for 'Come, O thou Traveller', and another for 'Shepherd divine, our wants relieve' (*C.P.* 494).

> Strong believers must expect divers temptations, and strong ones. . . . We cannot prevail with God but in his own strength. It is his Spirit that intercedes in us, and helps our infirmities (Romans VIII: 26).

Shepherd divine, our wants relieve
In this, our evil day.
To all thy tempted followers give
The power to watch and pray.

The Spirit of interceding grace
Grant us in faith to claim,
To wrestle till we see thy face
And know thy hidden name.

> Wrestling believers may obtain glorious victories and yet come off with broken bones: for 'when they are weak, then are they strong'.

What though my shrinking flesh complain,
And murmur to contend so long,
I rise superior to my pain,
When I am weak, then I am strong:
And when my all of strength shall fail,
I shall with the God-man prevail (verse 5).

> Those that would have the blessing of Christ, must be in good earnest, and be importunate for it, as those that resolve to have no denial. It is the fervent prayer, that is the effectual prayer. . . . See how wonderfully God condescends to . . . crown importunate prayer: those that resolve, though God slay them, yet to trust in him, will at length be more than conquerors.

My prayer hath power with God; the grace
Unspeakable I now receive;
Through faith I see thee face to face;
I see thee face to face, and live;
In vain I have not wept and strove;
Thy nature, and thy name, is Love (verse 8).

In 'Love divine, all loves excelling' (*C.P.* 179) there is a stirring reference to Malachi III: 5, 'The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple'. On this, Matthew Henry writes:

> What will be the effect of it? 'That they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness', that is, that they may be in sincerity converted to God, and consecrated to his praise . . . in the offering of prayer, and praise, and holy love.

Come, Almighty to deliver,
Let us all thy grace receive;
Suddenly return, and never,
Never more thy temples leave.
Thee we would be always blessing;
Serve thee as thy hosts above;
Pray, and praise thee without ceasing,
Glory in thy perfect love.

In the great eleven-verse hymn paraphrasing Romans IV: 16-25 and beginning 'Father of Jesus Christ, my Lord' (*C.P.* 475) there may be an acho of Matthew Henry:

> It is mere weakness of faith, that makes a man lie poring upon the difficulties and seeming impossibilities that lie in the way of a promise.

Faith, mighty faith, the promise sees,
And looks to that alone:
Laughs at impossibilities,
And cries, 'It shall be done!' (verse 9).

There are two verses in the most moving hymn, 'Eternal beam of light divine' (*C.P.* 395) which strongly recall Henry's extensive commentary on Matthew XI: 28, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour. . . .'

> The burden of Christ's Cross is a light burden, very light; afflictions from Christ, which befall us as men; afflictions for Christ, which befall us as Christians; the latter are especially meant. This 'burden' in itself is not 'joyous' but 'grievous'; yet as it is Christ's, it is 'light'. . . . God's presence (Isaiah XLIII: 2), Christ's sympathy (Isaiah LXIII: 9, Daniel III: 25), and especially the Spirit's aids and comforts (II Corinthians I: 5) make suffering for Christ 'light' and 'easy'. As afflictions abound and are prolonged, consolations abound, and are prolonged too.

Jesu, the weary wanderer's rest,
Give me thy easy yoke to bear,
With stedfast patience arm my breast
With spotless love and lowly fear.

Thankful I take the cup from thee,
Prepared and mingled by thy skill,
Though bitter to the taste it be,
Powerful the wounded soul to heal.

It is the association of the evangelical invitation with suffering which is the impressive part both of what Matthew Henry writes and of what Wesley sings.

I have no doubt that this could be taken much further. The argument, of course, must not be pressed beyond its strictly limited

range of reference. In many of the most richly Scriptural of his hymns there is no trace of Henry at all. 'Soldiers of Christ, arise', for example, takes a quite different line from that which Henry takes on that passage in Ephesians. In 'Come, O thou Traveller', where Matthew Henry interprets the daybreak that puts an end to the wrestling as the necessity for returning to daily work and life, Wesley interprets it as a type of the new life into which the believer is born as a result of the wrestling. 'Jesus, the first and last', which I have elsewhere shown to have as many Scripture references as it has lines, has nothing of Matthew Henry in it that I can discover. All that can be gained by such a sketch as this is in drawing attention to the obvious debt which Wesley owes to Henry, and (what is more precious) in perhaps sending some readers back to the great spiritual joys that wait for them in reading his Commentaries.

The Rev. JOHN BLACKBURN (1792-1855)

Pioneer Statistician of English Congregationalism

By Charles E. Surman, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

The Rev. John Blackburn was born in The Minories, Shoreditch, London, in 1792. Nothing has survived to tell us of his parentage except the statement by his brother that their father was "a respectable Liveryman of the City of London who for nearly forty years maintained the Character and Credit of himself and family unimpeachable,"[1] or of his early life save that he worshipped at Jewry Street Chapel and became a Sunday School teacher there in his youth.

As Londoners are aware, The Minories runs from Aldgate, opposite Houndsditch, to Royal Mint Street and Tower Hill: Jewry Street, formerly Poor Jewry Lane, runs parallel to it from Aldgate into Crutched Friars. The meeting-house in Poor Jewry Lane was that of one of the ancient dissenting churches of London, traditionally formed during the reign of Charles II by the Rev. Timothy Crusoe (d. 1697), and continued, nominally as Presbyterian, until 1774 when the society was dissolved. In the following year the building was leased to a new society, of which Walter Wilson said: "Though the present minister professes himself an Independent, the people cannot with strict propriety be called Dissenters; . . . we have termed them Calvinistic Methodists."[2] The ministers of this later congregation were William Aldridge, 1776-97; Richard Povah, 1797-1801; John Ball, 1801-11, under one or more of whom Blackburn was evidently brought up.

John Blackburn entered Stepney Baptist Academy with a view to the ministry in that denomination, but a change in his views regarding infant baptism caused him to retire in his first year, and he was then admitted to Hoxton Independent Academy in 1811. On completing his training, he spent a year or more in itinerant work under the auspices of the Irish Evangelical Society, but was recalled to England in 1815 to become pastor of the Congregational Church at Finchingfield, Essex. "A small village was his sphere, but a large congregation his charge. He devoted himself assidu-

[1] 'The Humble Petition of James Blackburn . . . to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Melbourne', 20 May, 1833. Possibly the father was William Blackburn, Woollen Draper, 29 Aldgate Without (1792-96), a Freeman of the Clockmakers' Company, but the Livery lists of the period are imperfect.

[2] W. Wilson, *Dissenting Meeting-houses in London*, 1808, i, 128 ff.

ously to the duties of his office, and prosecuted his studies with unremitting diligence, thus accumulating those vast stores of information respecting ecclesiastical and nonconforming history for which he was so distinguished."[3]

His early historical research was concentrated upon Essex, and he collected a wealth of information about Dissenting congregations, first in that county and afterwards in all parts of Britain. His notes formed the basis of much incorporated in the Rev. T. W. Davids' *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex,* 1863, The Blackburn MSS., to which Davids frequently refers, are in the collection at the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall.

In 1822, Blackburn was invited by Thomas Wilson,[4] that somewhat autocratic if magnanimous and evangelically zealous lay-leader of late 18th and early 19th century English Congregationalism, to become the first minister of a new cause which had been gathered in North London and for which Wilson had at his own charges built Claremont Chapel, Pentonville in 1819-20. Here Blackburn continued to minister until his death on 16th June, 1855.

> To the task of raising a large and permanent congregation in this neighbourhood, he set himself with all earnestness, and in humble reliance on that gracious and almighty Saviour who is both 'Shepherd and Bishop of the souls' of men. His efforts were crowned with remarkable success, both in the numbers and devotedness, piety and liberality of his flock. . . . His active and zealous spirit could not be satisfied with the ordinary routine of pastoral life; he took a lively interest and large share in the benevolent enterprises of the day, both in his own immediate vicinity and throughout the country and the world, and especially in connexion with his own denomination. He was one of the projectors and secretaries of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. He was for some time[5] editor of the *Congregational Magazine,* as also the originator and editor of the *Congregational Calendar,*[6] afterwards merged in the *Congregational Year Book,* the first number of which was published in 1846, and of which number, as well as that of 1847, he was sole editor. To him "The Christian Instruction Society" owes its existence. It was formed in 1825, and he was one of its secretaries for many years.[7]

Although it is by some now-a-days considered to be a matter for reproach rather than for commendation, Blackburn was a great denominationalist and proud of it, and to his vision, knowledge and energy a great deal of such cohesion as Congregationalism achieved in its emergence from more isolated Independency may be attributed. He was Secretary of the *Monthly Exercise,* an

[3] *Congregational Year Book,* 1856, p. 209.
[4] *D.N.B.*, s.n. [5] 27 years, 1818-45. [6] 1840-48.
[7] *C.Y.B.*, 1856, p. 209.

institution then almost a century old, which took the initiative in 1826 in the formation of the London Congregational Union, and, as already noted, was one of the founder members of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1831.[8] He became one of the Secretaries of the Union in 1834, being joined in that office in 1837 by the Rev. Algernon Wells, his former Essex neighbour and lifelong friend. While he resigned official connexion in 1847 on account of troubles of which we shall speak later, his interest in and work for the Union was continued to the end of his life.

Few early concerns of the united or local churches lacked his support or knowledge. He had already been one of the prime projectors, with Thomas and Joshua Wilson, of the formation of the Congregational Library, opened in 1831 in Finsbury, in premises which became for many years one of the central meeting-places for denominational committees and even for early Assemblies. The Union of England and Wales was 'born' in this Library the day after its official opening. The Library's collection of books was transferred to the Memorial Hall in 1875, together with the funds arising from the sale of the Blomfield Street premises.

> . . . a building in Blomfield Street, which had been a concert-room, was purchased and adapted for Congregational purposes; and there it was that the important institution [The Congregational Library], now fifty years old, first saw the light.
>
> The prime mover in this step of advance, and one of the early Secretaries of the Union, was John Blackburn. I see him now with his reddish hair, his bland countenance; I hear him now with his somewhat inharmonious but pathetic voice. He was minister at Claremont Chapel, built by Mr. Wilson, and was fifty years ago in the zenith of his popularity, a popularity stronger in his own neighbourhood than in other parts of the country. He was a wonderful worker, a diligent pastor, editor of the *Congregational Magazine*, member of many and many a committee, and a frequent preacher and speaker for religious societies. Pecuniary difficulties, more through the fault of others than himself it is said, threw some cloud over his latter days; but I believe he was a truly Christian man, who warmly loved the Master, and eminently served the cause. In the Congregational Library he took the greatest interest. He wrote for it, spoke on its behalf, and collected money towards its funds. That Congregational Library, a poor place compared with the Memorial Hall, was something to be proud of when I was young.[9]

[8]Albert Peel, *These Hundred Years*, 1931, p. 42; cf. pp. 26, 46, 47, 49, 50 ff., 64, 66, 90, 92, 98, 113, 118, 122 ff., 129, 143 f., 155 f., 158, 191, 197, 380, 411. Only Algernon Wells achieves as many references in this history of the Union.

[9]John Stoughton, *Reminiscences of Congregationalism Fifty Years Ago*, 1881, p. 28.

Blackburn was one of the small committee appointed in 1833 to prepare the *Congregational Hymn Book,* edited by Josiah Conder and published in 1836, the first official publication undertaken by the Union. He was also one of the founders of the Colonial Missionary Society, formed in 1836 as 'The Colonial Committee of the Congregational Union' in response to appeals from Australia, Canada, South Africa, etc., to secure funds and ministers to serve in the rapidly growing British colonial communities.

Long before the Union was formed, however, he had been engaged in work which developed a corporate consciousness among British Congregationalists. Editing the *Congregational Magazine* from its formation in 1818—itself one of his own projects—he had used it as a medium for creating an informed constituency. In its pages he made the first serious attempts at collating information about the churches in each County Association, and in compiling lists of accredited ministers. In 1818 he began in this monthly a "Statistical View of Dissenters in England and Wales" designed to record in brief the history of every known congregation, extant or extinct, county by county. Unfortunately the series, beginning with Berkshire in 1818 and continued to Devonshire in 1826, got no further through the alphabet, owing to lack of county co-operation. For Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire and Devonshire, his articles remain as most valuable summaries for the churches' story up to this period, as his MSS. do for other areas. Living memories then reached back over the otherwise barren 18th century and without his notes and collections the history of many local communities would have been permanently lost.

He recorded some strong views as to the urgent necessity for reliable current statistics about the churches and their ministers, the colleges, church memberships, finances, etc., and his disappointment that the efforts of more than thirty years had achieved so little to this end was voiced in a paper on "Denominational Statistics" read to the eighth annual Assembly of the Union in October, 1846. This may be found printed *in extenso* in the first issue of the *Year Book* (1846, pp. 61-66), where he says:

> Facts are the only safe foundations of philosophy, and as these are obtained in the physical sciences by *experiment,* so in the moral sciences they must be obtained by *observation.* It has been well remarked, 'that the science of statistics does not consist in reasoning, but in collecting materials for reasoning, which it is the business of the philosopher to arrange under general principles, and then to place every fact in its just place in the great systems of knowledge.' Political economists, therefore, avail themselves of the innumerable sources of

> statistical knowledge that are open to them by the labours of registrars and other public functionaries, and by their testimony reach those legitimate conclusions which may guide the manufacturer, the merchant, or the legislator in their respective affairs. . . . In our denomination, there are questions of vital interest to be answered respecting the success of our ministry and home missions, and of our educational efforts in the family, the school, and the Bible-class. We are taking our part in the great experiment, to ascertain whether the churches of Christ can live and multiply with only voluntary support and independent government. These are questions that interest intelligent and thinking men beyond the bounds of our own churches. . . .

With that judgment, well in advance of his time and far more Congregational than Independent, few will now be disposed to quarrel, even if statistical method has been developed as a professional science to a degree which seems at times to prove little except the mathematical ingenuity of the compilers or analyzers of numerical tables. Blackburn's summary of the position in the mid-19th century is interesting, however, as he goes on:

> Although [the Congregational Churches of England] rose soon after the Reformation, yet there exists no account of their numbers earlier than the death of Queen Anne. Even in the palmiest days of Independency, when the Protector Cromwell had consented that an Assembly of the elders and messengers of its churches should meet at the Savoy Palace, there was not a perfect list of them; so that in the letters addressed by the Rev. G. Griffiths to the principal ministers and churches they were requested to communicate the matter to sister churches in their respective counties and neighbourhoods, that they might send messengers to the general meeting.[10] One hundred and twenty churches were so represented, but no list of them is extant, though one was undoubtedly made on the occasion; but it was probably lost in the confusion consequent on the return of the Stuarts, or perished in the Fire of London.

He reminds his hearers that Daniel Neal prepared a list of the Independent and Baptist churches in each county in 1716, revised by Robert Robinson in 1776 (*sic*?); that Bogue and Bennett in their *History of Dissenters,* 1812, had gathered tabular records of the number of Dissenting congregations in each county, distinguishing the denominations, but that no list of the names of places where Congregational churches existed, or of their ministers, had been published until he gave them in the Supplement to the *Congregational Magazine* for 1826.

That list was necessarily very imperfect and inaccurate;

[10]See Albert Peel, *The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, 1658,* 1931, pp. 15 ff. Cf. *Congregational Magazine,* 1826, pp. 449 ff.

and therefore many of its omissions were supplied and its errors corrected in a *second* edition in 1827. It was still further revised in 1829, with *addenda et corrigenda* in the Supplement for 1830. In 1841 the Editor gave his last list; which combined, as far as could be ascertained, the name and date of the church, and the name of the pastor, and of the college where he was educated.

In 1842 the *Union* published in their *Calendar* for that year the first lists of thirty-seven County Associations; and that has been repeated thrice since. But these quite fail of giving a complete view of our denominational condition, as there are probably full six hundred churches that are in no association whatever. Complete alphabetical lists of the names both of the churches and their pastors are great *desiderata* amongst us. This was attempted by the Editor of the *Congregational Magazine* in his Supplement for 1831, and a list of twelve hundred names was published; but the neglect with which it was treated led him not again to attempt to revive it. This task should be immediately undertaken by the Committee of the Union, and it is hoped that a first essay towards it will be made in the projected *Year-Book* for 1847.

This attempt was duly made in the first issue of the *Congregational Year Book*, which Blackburn edited. It is dated 1846, but was not published until March, 1847,[11] and included details of churches in 42 Congregational Associations, with the names of their pastors, and an alphabetical list of these ministers and the place of their training, with brief obituary notices of ministers deceased during 1846—features which have continued annually ever since. Full records of the sessions of the Assemblies of the Union were printed, and even an attendance register of ministers, lay-delegates and students in theology (in 1846 twenty-three of these attended, a useful introduction to denominational life and business), and he began a valuable 'Literary Register' of publications of members of the denomination during the preceding year, a section abandoned only in 1917 when the size of the *Year Book* was reduced during the first World War.

In 1847 he added architectural descriptions of new chapels (omitted since 1941), but not for many years were some of the present features introduced—dates of formation of churches (1862), of settlement of the minister for the time being (1880), details of church membership, etc. (1899), brief ministerial 'careers' (1902).

Blackburn read several other useful papers to the Assemblies: "The State of the Ministry", 1840; "The Validity of the Ministry as

[11]It may be timely to repeat here a warning to students. The first *Year Book*, dated 1846, was published in 1847 and so to 1850. The issue for 1851, however, was published at the end of that year and contains current business and statistics. There was no issue dated 1852: that for 1853 contains statistics for 1852, and thereafter it continued (and continues) to be issued at the turn of the year, containing reports and returns for the year *preceding* its date.

exercized in Congregational Churches", 1841; "The History, Position, and Prosperity of the Independent Colleges", 1844; "Historical Paper on Congregational Associations", and "The Wycliffe Society", 1846; "Ecclesiastical Architecture", 1847, and he published a few minor works,[12] and contributed a Biographical Introduction to the *Select Works of the Rev. David Clarkson, 1622-1686,* 1846, edited by B. H. Cooper as the first of an ambitious series of reprints of the collected writings of the Nonconformist Fathers projected by the Wycliffe Society, which died an untimely death. He was one of the first members of the Literature or Book Committee of the Union (1845) from which ultimately emerged Independent Press Ltd., and he had a good deal to do with the actual production of many of the early works which the Committee sponsored. Another personal reminiscence of the man may be quoted, given by the Rev. James Branwhite French, in *Walks in Abney Park,* 1883:

> Passing the chapel, a little beyond it and on the opposite side of the way, we come to the tomb of the Rev. JOHN BLACKBURN, the first pastor of the Church assembling in Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, and who passed away 16th June, 1855, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. I recall him to mind distinctly, as one of the London ministers, not indeed standing in the front rank, yet not far behind it. He exercised an intelligent and affectionate ministry in a considerable congregation of well-to-do people, including some men of influence . . . He was ever forward in denominational enterprises, and as one of the projectors and first secretaries of the Congregational Union, as editor of the *Congregational Magazine,* and originator as well as editor of the *Congregational Calendar,* afterwards merged in the *Year Book,* whose earlier numbers he edited, he rendered valuable service. Clouds gathered around his later life, from which, however, he was emerging when death brought him to this grave. In spite of some grave mistakes into which he was led in pecuniary matters, John Blackburn was a good man and true. I remember the large-hearted Thomas Binney standing up in the Assembly of the Congregational Union after his decease, and telling how, when he heard of his illness, he had gone at once to see him, judging that he had long enough been deprived of the intercourse of his brethren; and that when he heard of his death he had resolved to attend his funeral, as a mark of respect. Peace to his memory!

Reference is made in all these accounts to the 'cloud' which gathered in the 1840s. We have not searched the law reports for extended details of the case, but the general details may be summarized. At Maidstone County Court, John Blackburn, the

[12] e.g., *The True Character and Probable Results of American Revivals,* 1830; *Lecture on the Recent Revolutions in Europe,* 1849.

Elder, an Insolvent, appeared before Mr. Justice Espinasse on Tuesday, 6th November, 1849, seeking discharge from an order in bankruptcy, with liabilities amounting in the aggregate to £8,818 1*s.* 5*d.*, of which £2,332 7*s.* 5*d.* was declared to have been incurred 'without consideration.' The proceedings revealed that at various times between 1832 and that date he had incurred large debts (£1,000, for example, to Sir Culling Eardley Smith, on security of a life policy), stated to have been almost entirely used to set up his sons in business and to help them meet consequential liabilities.

In his summing up the President said:

> There is no imputation whatever on the expenditure of the insolvent himself, so far as he is personally concerned. . . . It does not appear that any reckless expenditure was made by him for his own personal expenses or those of his family. Nothing of that kind appears after the very long examinations undergone by him at the hands of the two learned counsel who opposed him; but it does appear that almost the whole of these sums has been absorbed by his two sons. . . . The business of one of them was, during the time it lasted, increasing in amount, and so very promising that it became necessary to take larger premises for the purpose of carrying it on. With regard to the other, he states that he had every reason to believe that from the manufacture of a particular kind of cartridge paper, very great profits were likely to be made. It appears that after this mill was taken, a considerable sum was necessary in order to bring it into working order, and considerable loss was suffered by the accidents which occurred. . . . I think he was far too sanguine in his expectations of being enabled, by the two businesses of his sons, to get rid of all these liabilities in anything like reasonable time; but, looking to all the facts of the case . . . I cannot bring myself to the conclusion that the insolvent has so acted as to call upon me to remand him. I therefore think that . . . he will be entitled to his discharge.[13]

The only other item in the long summary which may be of passing interest is the statement that "at the time of incurring the debt, he was in receipt of £550 a year from his chapel," which in mid-nineteenth century must have been an unusually munificent stipend.

Four of his sons were early scholars of Mill Hill School—John, Robert and Josiah, all admitted June 1831, and Stephen, admitted September 1840. E. Hampden-Cook, *Mill Hill School Register, 1807-1926*, has no details of birth, death or career for the first three; but Stephen, born 6th August, 1826, who left the school in December, 1842, died at Glencoe, Ontario, 19th May, 1911, having been

[13] See *Evangelical Magazine*, 1849, pp. 692 ff., for some account of this bankruptcy.

co-editor with either John or Josiah of the *Free Press,* London, Ontario, and for 39 years Registrar of Deeds for the West Riding, Middlesex, Ontario, Canada. Which of these sons were the early paper-makers in Kent is not apparent.

John Blackburn had a brother, James, who also got into financial difficulties and was indicted at the Old Bailey on Thursday, 16th May, 1833, before Mr. Justice Littledale for "feloniously offering, uttering, disposing of and putting off on the 20th February at St. Mary le Bow a certain forged order for payment of money (£600) . . . . with intent to defraud the Governor and Company of the Bank of England well knowing it to be forged." He pleaded guilty and was committed to Newgate, whence he addressed a petition for clemency to the Home Secretary (see note 1, *supra*), in which he stated that he was aged 29, had for several years filled the situation of Inspector of Sewers for the Holborn and Finsbury Divisions, until, two years previously, he had embarked upon a building speculation which had brought him into pecuniary embarrassment, his furniture being taken in execution and he threatened with the loss of his home. He had purposed to sell certain houses belonging to him to restore the amount of the forged cheque but had not been able to dispose of them during the winter.

Later in 1833 he arrived in Tasmania (then Van Diemen's Land, the penal colony) under life sentence of transportation. His wife and two children joined him there, and his earlier record and subsequent good conduct so impressed the local Tasmanian authorities that he was granted a free pardon in 1841. In the island he attained distinction as engineer, architect and surveyor, designing some of the most attractive civic and ecclesiastical buildings and later being responsible for engineering Melbourne's water-supply.

He was also the first to conceive of and design a floating or pontoon bridge to cross the Derwent River at Hobart. More than a hundred years after his plan was submitted, the bridge (on a somewhat different plan) was actually built.[14] He crossed to Victoria in 1849 and continued a successful career as a fully 'reformed' character there.

In each case there was evidently considerable ability and at least some financial unwisdom: in each brother the vessel, marred in the hand of the potter, was made over again. Of John we may perhaps say that in the last one hundred and fifty years Congregationalism has had few more able servants in statistical and historical research. He stands in a select class with such others as Dr. John Campbell, Dr. John Waddington, Dr. John Stoughton, the Rev. T. G. Crippen and Dr. Albert Peel as vigorous and well-informed denominationalists—though perhaps none of them would fully approve that somewhat limiting label.

[14]Information per the State Archivist of Tasmania, Hobart.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

Theology and relevant studies: works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work: books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea: a limited selection from current general literature.

Periodical publications.

THEOLOGY
AND RELEVANT STUDIES

The Christian Hope. By J. E. Fison. Longmans, Green and Co. 21s.

Christ the Conqueror. By Ragnar Leivestad. S.P.C.K. 25s.

The End of Time. By Josef Pieper. Faber & Faber. 10s. 6d.

These three books deal, each in its different way, with the important theme of the Christian hope that transcends this finite world. They all repay reading, and each has a distinctive contribution to make. Canon Fison's book is written for the interested layman rather than for the scholar, since the scholar would find the looseness of the language as much a difficulty as the layman would find his poetry and sentiment a help. Mr. Leivestad's book is written for the scholar, though I should like to think that some keen laymen would attempt to read it. Unfortunately Mr. Leivestad's translators and publishers have made an important book more difficult to read for the person who is not well versed in Greek and Latin and German. I regret this tendency for, even if it is thought advisable to keep quotations in their original language, it would not add much to the translator's trouble or the publisher's space to put translations in footnotes. Joseph Pieper's book is certainly not for the technical 'scholar,' nor for the conventional philosopher of these days. He calls it 'a meditation on the philosophy of history' and it is of these three books the one that I should most like to think any student amateur or professional, could read with profit.

Canon Fison discusses the biblical teaching about the Parousia or Second Coming, and does it in a setting of contemporary life that adds greatly to the value of the book. But I am not at all sure about the ultimate value of his most distinctive contribution to our thinking about the 'end.' It will be for the Christian, as he realizes, not the entry upon an unknown something, but rather the meeting with a known and beloved person. This is so far not too difficult. But when he goes on to try to account for the lapse of two thousand years between the ascension and the Second Coming by referring to 'lovers' time,' in which waiting for the beloved even for a long time seems to pass quickly, I think he has let metaphor run away with him. The imminence of the Parousia or the Second Coming is not in that order of subjective psychological phenomena, but rather in the realm of the objective relations of time and eternity, a point which both Mr. Leivestad and Mr. Pieper realize more adequately.

For the theological student and the professional scholar Mr. Leivestad has written the book for which many of us have waited. He has made a

careful, scholarly, exegetical examination of every conceivable text that illustrates the theme of conflict in the New Testament. His is a work of monumental thoroughness. When the evidence is so carefully sought and so exactly scrutinized, it is seen to be large in volume and far-reaching in significance. But there are two main comments I would make: Here, as in some other works of beautifully exact scholarship, the authentic note of prophecy, of religion, is, I feel, missing. The work never seems to 'catch fire' or to set the reader on fire. And I am doubtful about the ease with which Mr. Leivestad asserts that what he calls the 'adoptionist' scheme of interpreting the person and work of Jesus supports the view of those who speak of 'parousia' and 'second coming.' But no one can write upon the theme of conflict and victory in the New Testament without working on this distinguished book. His conclusion, that Love is the all-conqueror, is, I think, true; but it seems to me not sufficiently integrated into the development of the whole book.

Strangely enough it is the book about which I could write most critically that I want to commend most. Mr. Pieper says that he has written a 'meditation on the philosophy of history.' Certainly he has produced a work that will make many a modern biblical scholar tear his hair, and any modern philosopher in England throw this book aside with superior scorn. For Mr. Pieper speaks about the unanimous tradition of the West, and this is found to be a view of the end of the world that stems from the Bible, and particularly from the Book of Revelation, and from these books as mostly quite medieval commentators have expounded them. But I would warn anyone who is tempted to throw the book aside to do so at his peril, for to work through it is to share a vision in such depth as is rarely given to writer and reader together. In this age of menaces and threats of all kinds to our human existence Mr. Pieper has been brave enough and faithful enough to look at the world with the eyes, shall we say, of the Seer of Patmos and all who have tried to share his vision, and he has, I believe, seen right through to the answer. Mr. Pieper knows, and has rejected what the prepossessing philosophers and theologians of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment have said in a vain attempt to face the 'end' without the Bible. He has seen through both the despair and the optimism of the world without Christ, and has made sure for himself, and for the discerning reader of his book, that there is no possibility of facing the end at all unless one does it with the pessimism and hope of the Gospel that knows that the end-time is one of catastrophe, and yet is certain that beyond the catastrophe, and beyond this space time world, there will be fulfilment and re-affirmation in the eternity of God. JOHN MARSH.

The Teachers' Commentary, completely revised edition. Edited by G. HENTON DAVIES and ALAN RICHARDSON. 571 pp. and 16 full-page maps in colour. S.C.M. 21s.

First published in 1932, this is the seventh edition, completely revised, enlarged, and re-set, of a commentary which has already gained an honoured place on the shelves of teachers and will now advance into a life of very much increased usefulness. The team of nearly forty collaborators have done their work extremely well; there are some good illustrations and diagrams and a full set of maps (taken from *The Westminster Smaller Bible Atlas*); a comprehensive general bibliography, supplemented by suggestions for further reading on each book of the Bible; good general articles; and a chronological table all brought completely up to date. The book is beautifully produced in very good type and is an outstanding bargain at the price.

Its strength is at the same time its weakness for the general reader.

It is designed for teachers and the amount of space devoted to different books of the Bible (and Apocrypha) is dictated by their relative importance or unimportance in the leading Agreed Syllabuses. Thus the general reader will be perturbed at first to find the proportion of space given to each book: seven columns for Romans, nine for I and II Corinthians, forty-eight for Acts, six for Deutero-Isaiah, eighteen for Daniel and, curiously, more than ten for Revelation. The general articles, however, are generously proportioned and help to fill the gaps. It is a remarkably good one-volume commentary which would be cheap at more than twice the price. It deserves, and will have, a wide reading public. W. Gordon Robinson.

The Septuagint Bible. Translation of Charles Thomson revised by C. A. Muses. 1,426 pp. Falcon's Wing Press, Indian Hills, Colorado, U.S.A. $6.50.

A few centuries before the time of Christ the Jews of Alexandria produced a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures. This translation, known as the Septuagint, has survived in manuscripts the oldest of which date from the fourth century A.D., whereas the oldest complete Hebrew manuscripts date only from the tenth century A.D. Textual critics therefore pay special attention to variant readings arising from the Septuagint, as they derive from a long separate line of transmission. Errors may have arisen in either line of transmission, and each case of difference must be judged on its merits. Further interest attaches to the Septuagint in that quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament are taken from it. All this is of great concern to scholars, and full attention is paid to it in modern translations.

The present work is a translation of the Codex Vaticanus text of the Septuagint, and is apparently intended to supply the English reader with a means of comparison between it and versions made from the Hebrew. It is also meant to enable him to get an idea of the Greek version of the Old Testament familiar to Jesus and the first century Christians. The latter aim is perhaps to an extent fulfilled but not the former. To fulfil the former aim we should have needed indications of differences among the Greek manuscripts themselves and there are many; and indications of where the Greek is manifestly departing from the present Hebrew. Instead of that we often have the suggestion of difference when none exists. For instance in Psalm 1 verses 1 and 2 the Septuagint four times has *en* translating the Hebrew *be*. In all four cases the English A.V. and R.V. translate as "in." But Muses gives successively "by," "in," "in," "on." Such cases could be multiplied. They do not necessarily vitiate the translation, but they defeat the purpose of comparison. When exact scholarship and minute care are taken for granted, it is disconcerting to find *echeis* for *rheseis* on p. xii, *pragmata* for *pragma* on p. xiii, *Kurios* wrongly accented on p. xv, *tes* translated "this" on p. 1, *kai* translated "or" on p. 946, and many similar cases. We will not spare space for detailed criticism of the translation. Suffice to say that for the intended purpose it is too free, too inconsistent, and lamentably free of reference to variants.

The book is admirably produced and printed, and Dr. Muses has obviously taken a great deal of trouble with it. The cardinal mistake was basing this translation on the century-and-a-half-old work of Charles Thomson. I am sure that Dr. Muses would have done a much better piece of work if given a free hand. While I cannot commend the book to scholars, the general reader will find it interesting as a reasonable translation of the Old Testament as known to Jesus Christ and the early Christians.

The Authentic New Testament. Edited and translated by HUGH J. SCHONFIELD. 568 pp. Dennis Dobson Ltd. 75s.

This is a work of wide and thorough scholarship, and Mr. Schonfield is to be congratulated on his achievement. The author is a Jew and is well versed in both the Old Testament and contemporary Jewish background of the Early Church. He is also a competent Greek scholar and has mastered the broad outlines of modern literature on New Testament problems. With this equipment he has produced a new translation of the New Testament, giving a good historical and literary introduction of over 30 pages and a brief introduction to each book. He has arranged the books in what he considers to be historical order—Mark, Matthew, Luke and Acts, Paul, Hebrews, general epistles, Johannine writings—and appends brief explanatory notes at the foot of each page. All this has been reasonably well done, and the whole work sets forth the opinions and judgments of an impartial scholarly mind.

There are, however, certain general defects and detailed criticisms. First, two very minor points: why does Mr. Schonfield claim that his editing and translating provides "the authentic" New Testament? It is an immodest and disputable claim. And why publish such a work as a limited numbered first edition? But the main defect is the almost complete lack of recognition or statement of alternative views. Mr. Schonfield may be usually right, and his judgment may be generally sound; but there are many matters of text, meaning, interpretation and theological implication where he ought to have indicated that what he sets down as fact is in reality open to other judgments. In a work of this kind those other judgments ought at least to be indicated. To give but two examples: on p. xvii we are told that Jesus "was the eldest of a large family, having four brothers and at least two sisters." That may be so; but there are other opinions, and he should not have said more than "It seems probable that. . . ." Then on p. 193 he translates Acts 1, 26 thus: "So they held a ballot, and the vote went to Matthias; and he was elected to office in association with the eleven envoys." We need not object to the rather free paraphrase; but he really ought not to translate *kleros* simply as "vote" without indicating that most scholars think it means "lot." Again, if this claims to be "the most vivid and exact of all translations," we should not expect to find *meta* with the accusative translated "during" instead of "after," a confusion of rare classical and common Hellenistic usage (p. 51); nor on both pages 515 and 516 should we have "paper and ink" when in II John it is "paper and ink" and in III John "ink and pen." Is "God is on our side" better for "Immanuel" than "God with us"? (p. 52). On what evidence is note 6 on p. 121 based? Unfortunately, claims like "most vivid and exact" challenge one to look for errors; there are others, but we will forbear.

It is a pity that this excellent work is somewhat marred by pretentiousness and one-man authoritarianism, for it is a refreshing and on the whole trustworthy guide to an informed approach to the New Testament.

A Critical Introduction to the Gospels. By H. A. GUY. 152 pp. Macmillan. 6s.

The author says that his book is intended for two classes of reader: those preparing for theological examinations and those desiring a concise statement of the modern scholarly approach to the Gospels. It can be agreed that both aims have been fulfilled. The student has here an admirably concise textbook, which will enable him to approach his problems with informed judgment; and the general reader will find here a clear account of the ancient manuscripts, the mode of analysis of the Gospels into their oral and written sources, the degree of dependence of the Gospels on one another, their relative

reliability, and their main characteristics. The book makes no claim to originality; it summarizes the positions held by the majority of modern scholars, and does so clearly and with balance. A. R. VINE.

Conscience in the New Testament. By C. A. PIERCE. 151 pp. S.C.M. Press (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 15). 8s. 6d.

This is a lexicographical study, surveying Greek usage before the word *conscience* got into the New Testament, with an amount of statistical formulation unusual in linguistic studies. The argument implies knowledge of Greek; but its results may be summarized. The suggestion that the word was taken from the vocabulary of Stoicism must be given up. The noun "conscience" developed from a verbal usage in classical authors meaning "have some special knowledge or secret"; this special knowledge then took on a negative ethical sense, viz. feeling of something which causes pain or shame. A "good" conscience signified to the Greeks that the person in question had no sense of having done anything wrong; we note that the reference is always to *past* acts. Strictly speaking, a person has no conscience unless he has done wrong, and admits it; in so far as it exists at all conscience is always guilty.

Examining the New Testament usage Pierce suggests that Paul adopted this Greek sense. He had no option but to use the word, because his correspondents at Corinth were appealing to conscience in justification of conduct which Paul had to make them see to be unchristian. Pierce connects conscience with what Paul says in Romans about the Wrath of God; it is the individual's experience of the divine judgment on rejection of the moral law. In the Pastorals Pierce discerns a connection between conscience and faith: "faith informs conscience, but outrages to conscience are preliminary to an abandonment of the faith." Hebrews sees the superiority of Christianity in the fact that it is able to cleanse the conscience. (It is even possible to argue that the effect of Christ's sacrifice is to make believers free from conscience.) Pierce emphasizes the distinction from the meaning of conscience in modern usage, which he regards as an intolerable distortion of the New Testament meaning. The tendency to look upon conscience as the final and all-sufficient authority may sound impressive, but by Biblical standards it is nothing less than idolatry. The Church's task is to recover the Biblical understanding of conscience.

A Portrait of Luke. By A. H. N. GREEN-ARMYTAGE. 204 pp. Burns & Oates. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Green-Armytage writes entertainingly and with real scholarship. We appreciate especially his familiarity with Greek literature both classical and post-classical, which enables him to pen some fascinating pages on Luke's language. The portrait of the Evangelist is attractive and intimate: "His brains were good but not brilliant. His character charming, but not forceful." The author does not class Luke with professional writers, but brings out how his Greek habit of mind determined his use of his material, e.g. his lack of care about chronology, and his feeling for dramatic unity which made him suppress Resurrection appearances in Galilee. This is illuminating, and atones for the amateurishness of some of the remarks about the Synoptic Problem. Mr. Green-Armytage may be forgiven for the opinion that Q is a "mirage," and for the suggestion that Luke was dependent on Matthew (though this is supported by an ingenious theory that there was an original Aramaic Matthew, viz. the Logia referred to by Papias, of which the canonical Matthew was the authorized Greek Targum); but how could so scholarly an author write such a brilliant book on Luke without mentioning the Proto-Luke hypothesis?

The Apostolic Age. By G. B. Caird. 222 pp. Duckworth. 10s. 6d.

This book fills a gap in Duckworth's Studies in Theology, and provides us with an outline of the Apostolic Age which worthily succeeds Bartlet's and McGiffert's works on the same subject. Apart from those two veterans, we had to rely on J. Weiss's *Urchristentum*, 1917, which was not translated into English until 1937. The *Beginnings of Christianity* sprawled through five volumes; Burkitt's *Christian Beginnings* was too brief; Streeter's *Primitive Church* was more distinguished for brilliance than balance. Caird has been limited to 214 pages of text, but how well packed they are and with what balanced judgment! And the writing is dignified from the very first paragraph.

After describing the Roman and Jewish environment Caird gives three chapters each to the Primitive Community and the Gentile Mission. Then comes a single chapter on Paul, and three chapters on the Period of Consolidation, Christ and Caesar, and the Coming of the Lord. On the whole this is a satisfying classification, though some would have allowed Paul more space. The final chapter on the Coming, i.e. eschatology, contains criticism of Dodd's views, for which Caird finds it necessary to construct a rather large springboard, viz. a summary of Old Testament eschatology. This seems disproportionate, although the criticism is fair enough. There is a long appendix on New Testament Chronology which is welcome for its discussion of the relationship of Acts and Galatians. Here as elsewhere Caird urges no theory of his own but impresses by his judicious balancing of views advocated by others. He favours the view which connects Galatians II with Acts XI, 30 rather than Acts XV, and dates Galatians early (48-9).

An important feature about this book as a whole is its synthesizing of elements in the New Testament which have sometimes been left in isolation, e.g. in "liberal" works of the pre-Dodd era, which have their most impressive monument in Bultmann's recent *New Testament Theology*. Caird is all the time pointing out how the teaching of Paul and John has its roots in the earlier tradition, which is itself rooted in the teaching of Jesus. This is of course critically done, with no concessions to reviving Fundamentalism. This weighty and well-written book will find its place among the more distinguished volumes of a useful series.

The Jung Codex. Three studies by H. C. Puech, G. Quispel and W. C. van Unnik. Translated by F. L. Cross. 136 pp. Mowbrays. 15s.

These three lectures concern the discovery in 1945 in Upper Egypt of manuscripts parallel in importance to the Dead Sea Scrolls. They total about 1,000 leaves, bound in 13 codices, beautifully written in a Coptic dialect, and were apparently the library of a Gnostic sect. The significance of the find is that it makes possible an understanding of Gnosticism on the basis of its own documents rather than the references of opponents. The codices date from the 4th century A.D., but their Greek originals may go back to the 2nd, thus constituting evidence of Gnosticism at a time when its challenge to orthodox Christianity was at its height. Twelve codices reveal a more popular form of Gnosticism, of varied types, not all heretical (including speculation on the origin of the world, apocryphal Gospels, and Logia of Jesus). The thirteenth codex, to which this book is devoted and which is now in the Jung collection at Zurich, stands apart as evidence of pure Valentinian Gnosis. It contains a Letter of James, purporting to be revelations made by Christ to Peter and James before the Ascension; the Gospel of Truth; a Letter to Rheginos, about the Resurrection; and a Treatise on the Three Natures. The second of these is probably the *evangelium veritatis* referred to by Irenaeus as a Valentinian composition. Quispel

regards it as the work of Valentinus himself; van Unnik agrees. It shows traces of the use of N.T. writings, but is not in the category of the canonical Gospels. It is a kind of sermon urging introspection and the turning away from the tormented ignorance which is all that the experience of most men amounts to; salvation, which is the attainment of the true self and at the same time the knowledge of the Father, is made possible by Christ. Quispel sees a connection between the Treatise on the Three Natures and heterodox Judaism, and thinks the Gnostic Redeemer is more likely to have been derived from Jewish speculation about Adam or the Name of God than from Persian sources. A proper edition of this codex is being prepared by Puech and Quispel.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

The Pattern of Atonement. By H. A. HODGES. 103 pp. S.C.M. 8s. 6d.

Professor Hodges says that he approaches his subject as a philosopher, considering the whole work of Christ as peacemaker and restorer, and describing it as it is presented in Scripture and experience. His analysis is therefore philosophical, taking for its object ideas and standpoints, and aiming at clarity and proportion. This, however, is precisely the way in which a modern theologian would go to work; and what Professor Hodges gives us is in general harmony with the theology of the Atonement, as it is stated with different *nuances* by many present-day writers. The Professor has his own *nuance,* which is Anglo-Catholic.

Atonement is, as the name properly signifies, Reconciliation, the renewal of fellowship with God. The traditional doctrine of expiation, satisfaction and propitiation has no sufficient basis in Scripture, whose metaphors it presses beyond what they will bear. It also makes an impossible division between the Divine mercy and the Divine justice. Further, substitution is impossible in the sphere of personal relations. We must say, then, that Christ offered Himself in perfect obedience to the Father—by faith we are made one with Him and are reconciled to the Father. We are justified by faith, in that our sins are forgiven, but also in that, being united to Christ we are progressively made righteous in actuality. The Protestant doctrine of imputed righteousness needs to be supplemented by the Catholic doctrine of imparted righteousness. A sufficiently broad study of St. Paul will show that he stands for both. Professor Hodges thus finds the key to the doctrine of the Atonement in the mystical union of the Christian with Christ. He regrets the Protestant explanation of faith as trust (*fiducia*), and explains it as commitment, supporting his interpretation from the reference to Abraham in Rom. IV and Heb. XI.

So far Professor Hodges: now a word or two of criticism. As to justification by faith, the Professor sufficiently answers himself when he points out the value of the Protestant doctrine in disallowing any merit in the sinner as a ground of his reconciliation to God. The rejection of *fiducia* is a more serious matter. Commitment is only possible to the sinner as he trusts in the Divine mercy. *The Pattern of Atonement* is a thoughtful and devout study of its great subject. But not everything in it can be accepted by those who stand definitely upon the ground of the Reformation.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation. By LE ROY EDWIN FROOM. In four volumes, totalling 3,966 pp. Review and Herald, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. $5.00 each volume.

The first three volumes of this massive work were reviewed in the *Congregational Quarterly* for October, 1952. We then paid tribute to the thorough scholarship which had been devoted to the analysis of prophetic

interpretation all up the Christian centuries. This fourth volume deals with the period 1800 to 1952, and gives a fully documented analysis of millennialism in that period, with special reference to America and the influence of first William Miller and then Mrs. Ellen G. White. As an encyclopaedia of prophetic interpretation this work can be regarded as definitive, and is the finest effort of its kind. Seventh-day Adventists will find in it the historical background of their faith; other Christians have in it a detailed record of a persisting and significant strand in the Christian tradition.

A. R. Vine.

The Birth of Modern Education: the Contribution of the Nonconformist Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800. By J. W. Ashley Smith. 329 pp. Independent Press. 19s. 6d.

This is a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the curricula of the Dissenting Academies (seventy of them during a period of five generations). Its author continues the pioneer work of Mrs. Parker Crane and utilizes the work of Principal H. McLachlan, and sets his first-hand research on the backcloth of the educational philosophy of their day. Its novelty consists in a new classification of the academies according to the training of their tutors, in the attribution of some changes in curricula to the Netherlands and Continental universities rather than to the Scottish, and in the evaluation of their impact on English educational theory and practice. He rejects for good reasons a chronological or vocational classification of the academies. He adopts a tri-partite classification: academies whose tutors were Oxford or Cambridge men and sought to reproduce the curricula of 'Oxbridge'; academies where the tutors had largely the same aim as the previous group, but could not entirely achieve it because they had not been able, as Dissenters, to attend those universities; and the progressive tutors who tried to construct an ideal curriculum, derived in part from Oxford and Cambridge and from the Continental universities where they had been educated.

He shows that the academies pioneered in the use of English linguistic and literary studies and Elocution (as was suitable for institutions training men to preach in the vernacular), of modern languages (chiefly French as a key to sermons of French divines of note), of Modern History and Politics (for polemical purposes and in search for parallels to the position of Dissenters in religion). The older disciplines were also modified. Natural science was taught by the inductive, experimental method and up-to-dateness in research was inculcated. Shorthand was given an important place as a skill, and music a rather insignificant one. Three advances in method are recorded: the use of English as the medium of instruction instead of Latin; the provision of free discussions; and the organization of courses based on many books instead of lectures commenting on a single text-book. These important changes were introduced into the English Academies when Gibbon was complaining that at Magdalen (and it is doubtful if he would have found any College in either ancient English university less somnolent) the Fellows were 'decent, easy men who supinely enjoyed the gifts of their Founder.' Many eighteenth century historical issues that were considered closed have been re-opened. It seems likely that most of Mr. Ashley Smith's conclusions will not be overturned for some time, so thorough has his work been.

Some questions, mainly of a secondary nature, remain. Will further detailed studies of eighteenth century university studies, curricular and private, lead to a more generous estimate of their intellectual life? Recognizing that Calvin was heir to the Renaissance as well as a great leader of the Reformation, and that he praised the ancients for their legal and architectural achievements, is it fair to describe his doctrine of man as *total* depravity?

Was French taught *only* as a key to the sermons preached across the Channel, or partly for ornamental or trade purposes? Finally, a Christian is in the good company of Sir Walter Moberley in utterly rejecting the view (p. 268 and most damaging conclusion) that to help to create a religious *élite* and to train Christian men who will evangelize the community are aims that are "poles apart from anything practicable for university teachers today." A Christian in any post in a university must be an apologist or his faith is null and void.

HORTON DAVIES.

The Congregational Ministry in the Modern World. Edited by H. CUNLIFFE-JONES. 192 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

In preparation for its Bicentenary next year, Yorkshire United Independent College has already produced a well-written history of the College (by K. W. Wadsworth, reviewed in the January *Quarterly*), and now follows with a well-integrated set of essays by past students and present staff on the nature, training and work of the Congregational minister in the contemporary situation. The twelve alumni and the three members of staff are all engaged in key positions in Congregationalism, as pastors, teachers and administrators. Yorkshire College may well be proud of these its sons, who by no means exhaust those who might have been called upon.

The first two essays deal with the nature of the Congregational ministry and its ecumenical setting; the next six with the part played by the "humanities," the Bible, Church History and Theology in the training and work of a minister and with his personal training; the remaining seven with the minister's work as pastor, preacher and teacher, with his spiritual discipline and leadership in the ways of the Holy Spirit, and with the implications of this industrial age, of "the wider fellowship of the churches," and with new developments. Here is much that is bold, thought-provoking, and uncompromising, much that moves the reader to re-examine his own conception of ministry and the way in which he exercises it, and much that is written with a deep awareness of the changing times in which we live, socially, internationally, and ecclesiastically. If one, or perhaps two, of the essays prove faintly disappointing, the general standard is extremely high and the unity of purpose and approach is clear. The present Principal, as editor, has done his work well; but he should have insisted on a better index or had none at all. Every Congregational minister ought to read this book and profit by it; ministers and clergy of other branches of the Church will find in it not only a picture of the Congregational conception of the ministry, loyal to its old standards yet reaching out to meet new situations, but also a challenge and a stimulus to their own ministry.

W. GORDON ROBINSON.

Belief and Unbelief Since 1850. By H. G. WOOD. 143 pp. C.U.P. 12s. 6d.

This book embodies a series of open lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge in 1953. Dr. Wood analyses the causes for the decline in religious belief and practice during the past 100 years, and tentatively assesses hope for the future. He ascribes the decline to a complex of factors, including the growth of the factual scientific attitude, the questioning by literary and historical criticism of the materials of faith, the trends in philosophy and ethics, and the preoccupation of ordinary people with temporal values. Dr. Wood mentions, but has not space to deal with, humanism, Marxism and existentialism, nor, on the credit side, neo-orthodoxy and ecumenicalism. The treatment is objective and well documented, apposite quotations being gathered from a wide field. The book is a historical survey rather than a testament; but the last few pages reflect the shape of things to come from such diverse sources as Whitehead, Galsworthy and

Vicars Bell. From Dr. Wood's final paragraph I take these words: "The Christ is no myth, no embodiment of wishful thinking, nor yet a lay-figure decked out in garments woven by devout imagination. Try as we may, we cannot get him out of history, and if we have any sense of reality, we cannot evade his challenge . . . He seeks the unforced devotion of loyal hearts. And those who love and follow Christ will know the living and true God."

A. R. VINE.

Edward Irving should appeal to many at the present time. "The number of our sects is our shame," he wrote; "the Christian Church was intended to be one." He "challenged the prevailing exaltation of the Book," "was determined to recover a high view of the Church" and "believed firmly in 'making Christians by sacraments'." The Catholic Apostolic Church which gathered round him prepared "one of the world's great liturgies." He also "proclaimed that the Church was living between the times"; foresaw the imminent end of all things; and welcomed speaking with tongues. It is the combination of all these things which is so fascinating: today sacramentalists are not millennialists nor are ecumenists given to glossolalia. In *Blinded Eagle* (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.)—it is Carlyle's image for his friend—the Rev. H. C. Whitley slips somewhat lightly over Irving's "apocalyptic preoccupation" and does not attempt to relate Irving's enthusiasms to the *Zeitgeist* in the suggestive way attempted by Richard Garnett in the *D.N.B.*; but as one whose early days were spent in the Catholic Apostolic Church he writes with understanding and sympathy. For all that, Irving was clearly what is called an impossible person: a wayward genius, a brigand chief, given to jumping gates (if not fences also), disgusted by "the certified soundness of dull men"—the phrase is Mrs. Oliphant's, not his—and crazed with ambition from the start.

The 1955 Swarthmore Lecture is described in its subtitle as "an interpretation of the ground and practice of Quaker worship and ministry"; for, although the Society of Friends has no ministers in the usual sense, it has ministry and cares deeply about this. The lecture's title, *Where Words Come From* (Allen & Unwin, 5s. and 3s. 6d.), is taken from what an Indian chief who knew no English said to John Woolman once, when Woolman had prayed in that language: "I love to feel where words come from"; for the Word is more than words. The lecturer, Professor Douglas V. Steere, is from Haverford College. His style is somewhat anecdotal and repetitious, but one admires the courage of his simplicity and the insights which this yields.

Dr. Maldwyn Edwards' *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century: a Study of His Social and Political Influence* (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.) has appeared in a revised edition. The writer is careful not to claim too much. Wesley "never formulated a political theory"; he "had an extravagant fondness for the institution of monarchy" and "a profound distrust of the people"; "he has no place in the history of Educational theory." But in the abolition of slavery "there is hardly any name more important"; and "it is almost true to say that Wesley discovered the poor." "Looking at what he did, one cannot laugh at what he thought."

William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, which first appeared in Everyman's Library, has been reprinted (Dent, 6s.), with a five-page introduction by Professor Norman Sykes.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

The Faiths Men Live By. By CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER. 280 pp. The World's Work, Ltd., Kingswood, Surrey. 18s.

Maintaining that there are universal values in every religious faith, this book aims to help people appreciate the good in other religions. A wider

knowledge of all religions would diminish prejudice, encourage unity, and promote sympathetic understanding. The Introduction deals briefly with Animism, Polytheism, Henotheism and Monotheism. Eight chapters then deal successively with Hinduism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto and Islam. Of necessity brief, these accounts are none the less interesting, and for Christians who have but a vague idea of other religions they are clear and educative. The next thirteen chapters deal with the various sections of Christendom:—Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational, Baptist and Disciples of Christ, Unitarian, the Friends, Methodist, Mormons, Christian Science, and finally, a miscellany of minor groups. The treatment is colourful and objective, explanatory rather than critical. The outlook is American throughout, and though the history of the various denominations is given, it is the American version of what these sections of Christendom are. The Congregationalists are described as the Church that came over in the *Mayflower*, and the germ of American democracy came with them. It is interesting to note that American Congregationalism (1953) numbers 5,597 local churches and a membership of 1,269,466. The book is recommended for the ordinary reader. There is a good index. H. V. Martin.

The Church and Mental Health. Ed. by Paul B. Maves. 303 pp. Scribners. 25s.

This book is an American symposium by fourteen authors, four of whom are psychiatrists and six are Professors in Schools of Theology. The scheme of the book is comprehensive. In eight sections it deals with The Meaning of Mental Health, Religion in Illness and Health through the Centuries, Potentialities in the Christian Community for Illness and Health, Fostering Mental Health through the Church Programme, A Ministry to the Mentally Ill, The Parish Priest and the Psychiatrist, A Strategy for the Church, and Concluding Reflections. It is, of course, impossible to cover such an enormous field in an adequate way in 300 pages. The result is, therefore, somewhat sketchy, tending to generalizations with which most will agree, but which they will not always discover how to implement in practice.

As with most symposia, the contributions are not all of equal value. My own interest was most aroused by the opening essay by Dr. Gotthard Booth on *Health from the Standpoint of a Physician*. Some quotations from this will give the point of view of the book. His insistence that health is not achieved through the same pattern of life for all people, nor through someone else's pattern of life by anyone, is quite fundamental. "Man stays objectively healthy as long as his individual needs are satisfied. He may *feel* healthy as long as he experiences himself as capable of pursuing those purposes which are vital to him" (p. 3). "Love means that the adult is genuinely concerned with the evolution of the true nature of the child. Children are not able to respond to a love which tries to fashion them according to the concept of an adult, no matter how good the latter's intentions may be. In fact the stronger the convictions of the adult, the greater the danger that he may act on them aggressively without even realizing it" (p. 7). This will be true even when they are religious convictions, and it warns us that attempts to shape a child by some rigid dogmatism is most likely to damage the unique individuality the possibility of which God has hidden in the child's not yet unfolded nature. Dr. Booth states that "It seems likely that eventually all illness may be understood as a meaningful expression of the individual's particular problem of adjustment" (p. 9). That should warn us that purely physical treatments in psychiatry (such as E.C.T., pre-frontal leucotomy and others) which ignore the personality

problems of the patient, while they have utilitarian value for symptom-relieving, are no answer to the real problem.

In conformity with present day psychological and social science, the cause and cure of mental illhealth is sought in the field of the basic human relationships which can either make or mar our lives from childhood onwards. This is what brings religion and mental health into fruitful relationship, for a church is a community of persons in spiritual family relationships, and religion is pre-eminently *about* personal relationship: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbour as thyself." The essay by Paul Maves on *Christian Fellowship and Mental Health* may be cited. The book must be read for its value in stimulating thought and further inquiry along the right lines rather than for thorough treatment of any one of them. Thus the essay on *Mental Health and the Church Program* can hardly deal deeply with education for marriage, parenthood, growth in character and faith and in principles of mental hygiene, in 30 pages. But it may set the awakened reader exploring further. A chapter on *Fostering the Mental Health of Ministers* is a striking but necessary item to include in such a book, for unhealthy tensions are all too easily rationalized as piety, and aggressiveness is all too easily mistaken for zeal in God's cause. The book should foster the overall impression that the church cannot preach spiritual salvation in ignorance of what constitutes a healthy state of mind and personality, for in the end what causes mental ill-health is the accumulation of fears, anxieties, hates and angers over the deprivation of true, personality-nourishing love.

H. J. S. GUNTRIP.

Psychology and Worship. By R. C. LEE. 110 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Here we have the publication of six lectures delivered in Leeds University during the autumn of 1953 under the Burroughs Memorial Lectureship. The author makes full use of Freudian interpretation and terminology, but he prefers to concern himself with Freud's Psychology instead of with Freudian Psycho-Analysis. In "Aspiration after God" man's union with God is sought as the complete fulfilment of life, and his worship of God demands the response of the whole personality. There is no simple faculty of worship, the urge can only be understood in the complex history of personality moving towards unity and maturity motivated by instinctual forces. Psychology is privileged to describe mental activities, but it reaches beyond itself if it attempts to study God. Man's ideas of God and moral values are built on "The Foundations in Childhood," and distortions are likely to arise out of an Oedipus Complex situation unless the child is aided by the assuring love of his parents and religious instructors. "Symbol, Ritual, and Reason" is worthy of reading in view of the present controversy on the demythologization of the New Testament. In "The Knowledge of God" we have the Existentialist note well sounded—we cannot know God as we can other objects. We can only "know God in worshipping Him," and "to worship God is to become our true selves." This demands a growing-up which is not easy, from religious infancy to maturity. The fifth and sixth lectures deal with Prayer and the Holy Communion. Here the author disposes of the idea of transubstantiation, and contends quite rightly that what resulting change is effected through the Sacraments is psychological, not chemical. The book as a whole is instructive and helpful, but those who are not conversant with the Freudian terminology may find it tedious. Even those so conversant may not agree with all Dr. Lee's interpretations.

A Doctor's Faith Holds Fast. By CHRISTOPHER WOODARD. 168 pp. Max Parrish. 12s. 6d.

I ended this book with mixed feelings. It is good to know that there are men of faith bringing into their healing work the influence of the Holy

Spirit; yet I feel confused when I read the author's words that "trust and belief in God (can) prevent accidents and illness," and remember his earlier reference to being present with Annette Mills a few hours before she "passed to her eternal rest." It is well known that many diseases are the outcome of wrong attitudes, but surely it is an over-simplification to say that one's faith can ward off, or cure, every disease. In addition it is difficult to understand why Dr. Woodard needed to fast for fourteen days before appearing at the Archbishop's Commission on Healing if he had overwhelming confidence in his faith. Such a procedure suggests an underlying anxiety or fear of one's fellowman. Doubtless there is much room for a sympathetic and objective inquiry into Dr. Woodard's claims, but to convince the medical people that they are barking up the wrong tree a fuller clinical picture of the cases mentioned is most desirable.

Sexual Offenders. By NORWOOD EAST. 101 pp. Delisle. 10s. 6d.

In many ways this is an interesting book, though much too encyclopaedic for the ordinary layman to select any meaningful material. It is unfortunate that the author has failed to put more elasticity into his writing so as to produce the kind of sustained thesis that leaves its impression on the reader's mind. The chapters are in excellent sequence: the classification of sexual offences is followed by the different causal factors, and by the nature of the sexual offence, which is indeed a most valid presentation. Then comes a description of the different types of sexual offenders before the author deals with the kinds of treatment available for offenders under sentence. One wishes that Dr. East had developed this chapter, but here again we encounter further rigidity in his style. The work contains some useful statistical findings among sexual offenders, an article by Dr. Desmond Curran and one by Dr. Clifford Allen, who has always something pertinent to write; there are also some interesting editorial notes by Vincent Long. On balance, the book is a timely corrective to some of the apologetic views put forward on this subject, and for that reason alone it should be read both by ministers and by all who are engaged in Social Work. W. E. SARGENT.

Rediscovering Prayer by John L. Casteel (Hodder and Stoughton, 12s. 6d.) takes us on an extended tour of familiar ground, calls our attention to many important things but never allows us to explore sufficiently at the places of special interest. The earlier and more theoretical chapters leave us with a lot of questions insufficiently answered. Here a careful pruning of words and material would have made possible a fuller discussion of difficult points. The later and more practical chapters will be found more helpful. The author does well to insist that in order to pray properly we must live rightly. JAMES M. TODD.

The Venerable Bede's *History of the English Church and People* has now been published as a Penguin Classic. A new translation from the Latin has been made by the Rev. Leo Sherley-Price. Perhaps rightly, attention has been paid to producing a smooth, easy-running idiomatic English paraphrase rather than a word-for-word version. It certainly reads very pleasantly, and violence is nowhere really done to the Latin. This is an excellent translation for the general reader. There is an introduction, also concise notes on difficult points. Available at the modest price of 3s. 6d., it may be hoped that wide use will be made of this prime source book of our early history.

The True and the Valid (O.U.P., 3s. 6d.) by Prof. R. I. Aaron is the 1954 Dr. Williams Lecture. In 22 pages Prof. Aaron has many acute observations to make on a problem common to logic, semantics and philosophy.

The Pastoral Ministry of the Church is the address given from the Chair of the Warwickshire Congregational Union by the Rev. C. E. Surman. It is challenging, and is packed with valuable historical gleanings. Obtainable at 1s. from the author, 4 Holly Lane, Birmingham, 24.

Canon C. F. Harman gives a valuable factual account of the state of Christianity in Hungary in *The Church in Hungary*, which is obtainable from the British Hungarian Friendship Society, 33 Pembridge Square, London, W.2, for 3d. post free.

Evidence of Christian vitality in Central Europe is provided by the commencement of issue of *Biblicka Konkordance*. This will be an exhaustive concordance to the Czech Bible to be completed in about 20 quarterly parts. Orders should be sent to Artia Ltd., 30, Smecky, Prague 2, Czecho-Slovakia.

Dr. E. Gordon Rupp delivered the eighth Joseph Smith Memorial Lecture at Selly Oak in June, 1954. It has been published as *Prophetic Preaching* by the Berean Press, Birmingham, at 2s.

Christianity and the Social Order (Friends Home Service Committee, 1s.) is an address given by Damaris Parker-Rhodes to the Young Friends Conference in 1954.

The Alex Wood Memorial Lecture for 1955 was by Prof. C. F. Carter, and is published at 1s. 6d. by the Fellowship of Reconciliation as *The Reconciling Spirit and the Economic Order*.

Prof. H. H. Rowley has produced a very useful pamphlet, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and their Significance* (Independent Press, 2s.), in which he gives a popular concise account of this most important textual material.

Men, Chance and History (Alan Bullock, Lindsey Press, 2s.) is the Essex Hall Lecture for 1955. It examines, with considerable insight, the ideas of pattern and purpose in human history.

Christ and the Scientific Road (Purnell Benson, Religion through Scientific Study, Maple Ave., Madison, N.J., U.S.A., 25 cents) testifies to the Christian faith of a Professor of Sociology.

Dr. Michael Ramsey, Bishop of Durham, gave the Gore Lecture for 1954. It is now published as *Charles Gore and Anglican Theology* (S.P.C.K., 2s.). An admirable summary and judgment.

In the *East and West Series*, published monthly by the Gita Publishing House, 10 Connaught Road, Poona 1, India, at 6d., Sri T. L. Vaswani tells the life stories of great mystics and ascetics, mostly eastern. The May 1955 number dealt with Buddha and the June number with Junnuna Misri.

A. R. Vine.

ADDENDUM

The Lord Protector. By R. S. Paul. 438 pp. Lutterworth Press. 35s.

This work was reviewed by Dr. G. F. Nuttall in our July issue (pp. 247-255), but reference to publisher and price was inadvertently omitted. The necessary particulars are supplied above.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

God In His World. By CHARLES S. DUTHIE. 195 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

This year's Lenten Book of the Congregational Union of England and Wales by the Principal of the Scottish Congregational College envisages discipleship and the life of prayer within a Christian community and its mission in the world. It is a collation of material written upon several occasions and therefore varies in style from the language of theological debate to that of the sermon and the missionary conference. Through these literary strata, however, the substance of the book emerges in thoughtful continuity. Following upon the introductory discussion of the Divine Nature revealed in Christ and the inviolable relationship between Church and Gospel, Dr. Duthie says the most pertinent things both to gathered communities and the persons comprising them. He describes the disciplines of the devotional life forthrightly, and relates the power they generate to fellowships and individuals in a frontier situation between the Church and the world. And it is this awareness of the Church's destiny to come to grips with the world which not only leads the author to describe the tactics of close engagement with 'the adversary,' but also gives his work that dimension of reality which challenges the reader and simultaneously refreshes him.

Steps In the Christian Way. By CYRIL H. POWELL. 104 pp. Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.

The design of Mr. Powell's book is to guide its reader upon a way of contemplation and living which will allow the power of God to operate in his life. Through self-analysis and repentance before God the way leads to an assessment of the possibilities of life in Christ and commitment to all those forces working for good in the world. Each chapter ends with a summary of its theme, a text of Scripture and a vow. The scheme is to meditate upon each chapter for a week by means of the summary, so that its truth may permeate the mind and grow into the personality. It is reminiscent of Mr. *Gordon* Powell's system of Prayer Reminder Cards at Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, reviewed in this journal for July, 1952. It is to be hoped that Mr. *Cyril* Powell's readers will profit as deeply from his book as did those who followed a similar ministry in Australia.

The Hand of Glory. A Book of Sermons. By G. T. BELLHOUSE. 125 pp. Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.

The minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Eastbourne has brought together here eighteen sermons preached in the course of his regular ministry. In style and method they are reminiscent of Dr. Fosdick: the preacher does not expound the text so much as enlarge upon a subject suggested by the text. Illustrations and literary allusions are put to expert use and do not fail to find their mark. The preacher's subjects are of a most practical nature and speak, for example, about the foundations of wisdom, the use of the tongue, the power of imagination, friendship, saving face, and the perversity of people. Mr. Bellhouse cannot fail to challenge by his unerring description of the moods, tempers and situations of ordinary persons.

Candles for the Dark. Talks on Some Common Problems. By WILLIAM J. MAY. 80 pp. Epworth Press. 5s.

The title of Mr. May's latest book represents a faith that the Christian, even in times of darkness and perplexity, has a small but inextinguishable light by which he may take the next step of his journey without fear. The presence of this light is revealed upon a homely and provincial background by Miss Jennifer Goode, a middle-aged maiden lady who radiates sympathy and understanding and to whom other women are drawn in times of distress. All the women so attracted appear to be either practising Christians or people with previous if distant Church associations and they quickly respond to the wisdom of Miss Goode. Readers in similar case and perplexity will also find comfort and guidance here.

Abbé Pierre and the Ragpickers. By BORIS SIMON. Translated by Lucie Noel. 200 pp. Harvill Press. 15s.

Emmaus, the symbol of despair superseded by hope, was a decaying mansion in the vicinity of Paris. It has now become a cross-roads of moral distress and redemption; and Abbé Pierre—priest, wartime resistance leader, then Deputy—loving his homeless and disinherited brethren as they are, by patience, labour and sacrifice, by respect for the religious freedom and dignity of human beings, has been largely responsible for this remarkable and moving transformation. In the absence of laws ensuring shelter for those who own nothing in the world and the presence of laws forbidding vagrancy, Abbé Pierre began by sheltering down-and-outs, but now sets them to work in order that they may shelter themselves and be restored to moral health at the same time. After initiation into the technicalities of rag-picking—house-to-house begging and digging in rubbish bins—the Abbé organized his protegés from Emmaus into salvage teams to sort and market their finds, and to build small dwellings from the proceeds. This gallant work continues; it is neither a social experiment nor a good deed performed as an item of personal hygiene. It is the sacrifice of one who has felt the terrible obligations of Christian charity towards his distressed brethren and is concerned to discharge his duty. Abbé Pierre has invoked an 'insurrection of kindness' throughout France. His thrilling story is finely told and illustrated. It should be read by all in order that the insurrection may spread, that there may be fewer people in misery in the world, and that God Himself may be better understood.

CONRAD BONIFAZI.

The Primacy of Preaching Today. By ARTHUR A. COWAN. 128 pp. T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.

This book is born of the conviction that "the preacher's day is not over," for the minister, speaking to those to whom he has endeared himself, can reach the heart in a way not possible to the broadcaster or the writer. It would have been worth while to work this out fully, but instead Dr. Cowan turns at once to the aims and methods of preaching. He makes a strong plea for expository preaching, and rapidly runs over a number of themes suggested by the Old Testament. His allegorical treatment of the Garden of Eden story is fresh and arresting. He sees the Old Testament generally as the record of God's determination to make himself known. In his approach to the New Testament, he deals briefly with the way to preach on miracles and parables and suggests a course of sermons on the Epistles. I could not help feeling that the author had attempted to cover too much ground in this chapter, so that it comes to consist of brief observations on many subjects, instead of containing an orderly development of its great theme. There is much of value to the preacher in this book, for through it he can listen to an experienced minister expatiating upon some of his convictions and methods.

500 Tales to Tell Again. By H. L. Gee. 278 pp. Epworth. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Gee has a flair for the writing of the simple yet vivid story, with a dash of sentimentalism. I never fail to admire his light but sure touch. This is a fascinating book in which Mr. Gee has ranged far and wide in his search for good stories. His sources stretch from Aesop to the *Children's Newspaper*. All the old school book heroes re-appear—Sir Philip Sydney, Martin Luther, Abraham Lincoln and many others. These apart, Mr. Gee's main purpose seems to be to commemorate the goodness and heroism of the common man. Those who love to read or to tell stories will find this book invaluable.

Religion in Prison. By J. Arthur Hoyles. 146 pp. Epworth. 10s. 6d.

This book sets out to do two things, namely, to sketch the history of religious ministrations in prison and to discuss what effect Christianity should have upon the treatment of offenders. These two subjects are too vast to be dealt with at all adequately in a book of 146 pages. The result is that the treatment of great matters like the nature of punishment and the justification or otherwise of capital punishment is sketchy in the extreme. Having said that, I must go on to admit that the book is full of interest. Mr. Hoyles shows how the casual ministrations of fervent Methodists and Quakers gave way in due course to the appointment of prison chaplains. In the hope that solitude would aid the prisoner to reflect upon the wickedness of his ways and repent, the promiscuous herding together of prisoners gave way to the cell system. The promoters of this system did not realize the cruelty which it inflicted upon those denied intercourse with their fellows. In his last three chapters Mr. Hoyle discourses on Religion and Punishment, Religion and Psychology, and the Death Penalty. In the space at his disposal Mr. Hoyle does not give himself a chance to do justice to these subjects; which is a pity, for it is clear that he has valuable things to say.

The Bridges of God. By Donald Anderson McGavran. 158 pp. World Dominion Press. 7s. 6d.

The sub-title of this book, "A Study in the Strategy of Missions," indicates the field within which its argument moves. Dr. McGavran sets out to answer the question, "How do peoples become Christian?" By use of illustrations from the Book of Acts and from the history of the expansion of Christianity he argues that Christianity spreads by the movement of groups ("People Movements"), rather than by the conversion of individuals. Coming to the 19th century he shows how in many places the exploratory "Mission Station Approach" frustrated by meagre response, turned to secondary aims. The result was the formation of an institutional centre with a "gathered colony church" about it. In the author's view such churches lack the qualities needed for growth as they tend to be cut off from the group from which their members have come. Because such pieces of work use up so much of Mission resources, "People Movements" have been starved of the help that could have been so productive. The upshot of Dr. McGavran's argument is that Mission Boards should not hesitate to cut down on institutional work in order to aid "People Movements." I found this book very convincing, but I can see that to carry his proposals into effect would cause much heartburning. How we love our buildings (churches, colleges, schools), and not only on the Mission Field! It must be said of course that Mission Boards today have already modified their policies and send out missionaries in some areas as helpers of the indigenous church rather than as workers on mission-stations. Dr. McGavran would have us take this process further still. I believe he is right.

The Hope of the Gospel. By JAMES SUTHERLAND THOMSON. 188 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d. (The Alexander Robertson Lecture for 1954.)

The times being out of joint, the Church has turned to eschatology with a new interest during the last 30 years. What can Christians say to those who exhort men to build on "foundations of unyielding despair"? Professor Thomson, Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at McGill University, examines the part played by hope in human life. In the Old Testament he sees hope arising through the faith of prophet and apocalyptist in the God who has shown his reliability in his mighty acts. In the New Testament the Cross is the doorway of hope, for it is the victory of God over the last insurgence of human wickedness. The hope of the apostolic gospel is that we may live now in the light of the end of the world. He quotes with approval Oscar Cullman's statement that "the present period of the church is the hour between the decisive battle which has already occurred and the victory day." Professor Thomson makes clear the nature of the Biblical hope and emphasizes the need to enter into personal possession of what has been received by tradition. I found this a helpful and invigorating book. The author does not allow himself to get bogged down in technical detail as do some writers on eschatology. His broad theme is never lost, so that the reader is able to follow him to the end.

The Preacher's Handbook (No. 4). Edited by GREVILLE P. LEWIS. 212 pp. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

This is the fourth volume in a series prepared for the help of Methodist local preachers. It consists of articles of general interest to the preacher, studies on themes arising from the Christian Year, and finally two brief commentaries on Genesis 1-11 and Romans 5-8. I cannot speak too highly of the plan and contents of this book. Preachers who study it carefully will benefit greatly from the insight and scholarship of its writers. I was particularly struck by the article on "The Words of my Mouth" by George H. Vallins. All who conduct public worship could profit by his advice not to pile up synonymous terms in extempore prayer; and not to use such clichés as "journeying mercies." There is a useful list of books appended for further reading. CHARLES HAIG.

Many will be glad to see *Words and Wisdom* (Epworth, 8s. 6d.), a selection from the essays of Dr. Henry Bett contributed through the years to *The Methodist Recorder*. Here we may read of famous puns, queer litanies, the Wise Men of Gotham and a score of fascinating things. One can only add that if there is more of the same where this came from, then let us have it!

It might interest A. Graham Ikin to know that in spite of that non-committal name every page of *Live and Learn* (Epworth, 6s.) cries aloud that it is by a woman. As a consequence, it is probably women, especially mothers, who will find most in these short, useful essays on the everyday difficulties and problems of life. Here are psychology and faith in fruitful marriage.

Canon H. G. Herklots has written a very helpful little pamphlet entitled *How Does Grace Come to Us*? (Epworth, paper, 1s. 6d.). Quoting that Grace is "God Himself knocking at the door of the human soul," Canon Herklots goes on to discuss the many ways in which God comes and how a man may be so predisposed as not to miss that coming.

Congo Crusade (Salvationist Press) by Albert Kenyon tells of Henri and Paula Becquet and their great pioneering work in the Belgian Congo which commenced in 1934 and within twenty years gathered 24,000 soldiers,

recruits and adherents. It is a great, heartening story out of a shadowed continent.

Illustrated Bible Talks for Young People (Salvationist Press, paper, 3s.) by Ernest N. Denham is a book about tools for teachers of the young. Especial stress is laid on the blackboard, giving 17 lessons with appropriate illustrations. Other methods advocated are Puppets, Cut-outs, and Word Puzzles. Some will certainly find new ideas here.

A chapter of the history of missions in Africa well worth writing appears as *Friends' Work in Africa* by Douglas and Dorothy Steere (Friends' Home Service Committee, paper, 1s. 6d.). It is a summary of evangelism, hesitatingly undertaken, developing into manifold service and manifestly blest.

The Holy Spirit and the Church (Friends' Home Service Committee, paper, 9d.) is a pamphlet well worth the attention of Congregationalists. Friends and Congregationalists alike emphasize the presence and leading of the Holy Spirit.

If you think it is worth paying 2s. to spend an hour in fellowship with a great, good man, buy *Rufus M. Jones* by Mary Hoxie Jones (Friends' Home Service Committee, paper). This short biography by his daughter of a great American Quaker is admirable. There is only one criticism: something has gone wrong with the Latin title of chap. xii.

The Christian View of Life by A. Price Hughes (Epworth, paper, 3s. 6d.) is a volume of sermon-essays in which the writer's thought is aptly illustrated by wide-ranging quotations.

Sometimes a short book calls for a long notice. That is true of Emmanuel Mounier's *The Spoil of the Violent* (Harvill Press, 6s.). I beg all who, beyond their anxiety for the future of Congregationalism, have a concern for the future of the Faith in Europe, to buy this book and read it, to decide whether modern Christianity is just "the dying reflection of a fire which should consume the world," whether it is "a pseudonym for the coalition of the feeble and the timorous," whether the modern Christian is a man "badly developed and slightly ridiculous," and so on. It is certain that the book is written out of a French Catholic world and that too much which it calls Christianity is better described as Continental Catholicism. Nevertheless it calls to us also, even if it be in varied degree. We add a word of thanks to Kathleen Watson for her striking translation. JOHN WILDING.

But They Won't Lie Down. By STUART B. JACKMAN. 128 pp. S.C.M. 5s.

This book contains three One-Act Plays and an Introduction. In the Introduction Mr. Jackman argues for the use of drama in worship on the basis that living worship is essentially dramatic. When Miss Dorothy L. Sayers wrote *The Man Born To Be King* she offended the religious susceptibilities of some people. Mr. Jackman will also shock many, or at least jar them, for he not only uses straight modern language but puts his Biblical scenes in contemporary settings. Shocks are unpleasant but these plays should not be criticized by them only; the criterion of judgment should be whether through these plays Christ and His gospel are made relevant to modern life.

In the play *Prototype,* which deals with the story of Lazarus, there is much direct spiritual teaching in hard-hitting terms with a refreshing re-interpretation of the characters of Martha and Mary. The return of Lazarus from the grave as an animated 'shade' seems, however, to detract from our Lord's power or willingness, one or the other, to complete His miracle.

In *The Backyard Miracle,* a Nativity Play, the Hotel Manager is unaffected by the King sought by Melchior or the Priest sought by Caspar, but the shame brought by the realization that by ostracizing Balthazzar, the African, he has been ostracizing a 'brother' leads him to Christ, the 'brother of all men'.

In *The Blind Man* Jackman is concerned with a great sociological theme, which is none other than the relation between freedom and law in the Kingdom of God. Harry, the Blind man, says to his accusers that Jesus who has given him his sight is "from a new world—a world of freedom and trust and peace. And if He touches you, you're in that new world too".

These three plays are written as dramatized acts of worship. It is suggested, however, that great profit might accrue from their being used as play-readings in Senior Bible Classes to be followed by discussion.

The Fool of God by Vera I. Arlett adds further to her prestige as the writer of Christian historical plays. Here in a One-Act Play for three men, two boys and two women, is the story of the building of Bartholomew's Hospital and Church by Rahere the ex-court jester. There are all the ingredients of great drama packed in here in some 30 minutes: conflict of wills, tension, suspense and excitement, and triumph. (26 pp., Pitman, 1s. 6d.).

I was in Prison by Morwenna R. Bielby is a Three-Act Play of 15 characters dealing with the life and work of Elizabeth Fry. The characterization is good but the treatment rather diffuse. (72 pp., Epworth, 3s. 6d.)

JASON S. WRIGHT.

Vestry Collects by F. E. Skinner (Epworth, 6d.) provides a well planned cycle of prayers for use by those whose responsible duty it is to pray with the minister in the vestry before service.

The Cap of Gold by Madge Unsworth (Salvationist Press, 4s. 6d. cloth, 2s. 6d. paper) tells the splendid story of a Dutch girl who spent her life serving as a Salvation Army officer in Holland and in the Far East.

The Congregational Union Chairman's Address for 1955, delivered by the Rev. Dr. W. Gordon Robinson, has been published under the title *Let Us Give Ourselves To Our Ministry* (Independent Press, 9d.).

Three sermons broadcast by Dr. Leslie Cooke on the subject of the Resurrection are contained in *The Reigning Christ,* published by Independent Press at 1s. 6d.

The Common People Heard Him Gladly contains four broadcast addresses by the Rev. Howard Stanley (Independent Press, 1s. 6d.).

The late Dr. J. D. Jones's excellent little booklet *The Ideal Church Member* has been reprinted yet again—Independent Press, 8d.

The Spirit and the Bride (J. E. Rattenbury, Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) consists of devotional studies on the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The "Tell Scotland" movement has issued a question-study booklet by the Rev. D. P. Thomson called *New Testament Conversions.* It is obtainable from the Church of Scotland Bookroom, 121 George Street, Edinburgh, price 1s.

A physician, Dr. W. L. Carrington, has written a useful little book on religious education in the home: *The Child and God* (Epworth Press, 2s.).

Sir Thomas Murray Taylor, Principal of Aberdeen University, preached the Edinburgh University Sermon for 1951. It has now been published as *The House Filled with Smoke* (St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1s. 6d.).

How to be the Life of the Party by Harold Hodgkins (Independent Press, 2d. a copy, 13s. 6d. per hundred) is an original and striking temperance leaflet aimed against the assumption that alcoholic drink is a necessity at social functions. Useful for distribution among young people. A. R. V.

MISCELLANEA

Memories and Reflections. By J. H. Badley. 342 pp. Allen and Unwin. 25s.

It seems a long time now since the dark September evening in 1899 when I first dined at a school in the little Périgourdin town whose sole claim to fame was that Richard Coeur de Lion had died there. Doubtless out of courtesy to the newly-arrived master, the conversation turned to the subject of English schools and soon questions I liked little enough began to rain down upon me. Had I been to Abbotsholme? Where exactly was it? Had I met Dr. Reddie? Or Mr. Badley of Bedales? Where was Bedales? What did I think of their "new education"? It was no good augury for holding a post specially created by the Académie de Bordeaux, the only such post then existing in France, that I had to admit total ignorance in regard to every one of these queries. The loan by my new Headmaster of Demolin's two books, *A quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons* and *L'Education Nouvelle* removed some of my ignorance, but it was only too evident he regretted I had not been trained by a Reddie or a Badley.

Cecil Reddie has long passed on but J. H. Badley, who founded Bedales as far back as 1893, is still happily with us. To have published a book like *Memories and Reflections* at the age of 91 is an amazing thing, even though he admits it was mostly written ten years ago. It is so coherent, so cogent, so convincing; as one reads, one would often think it rather the *cri de guerre* of a young warrior advancing to the attack than one who laid down his arms a score of years since. Here is a man whose days have been wholly dedicated to the greatest of professions and looking back he can only exclaim, with Browning's David:

> How good is man's life, the mere living!
> How fit to employ
> All the heart and the soul and the senses
> For ever in joy.

He is a man, too, who has heard those other words of the same teacher:

> Each deed thou hast done
> Dies, revives, goes to work in the world.
> . . . Carouse in the past!

Memories and Reflections is best regarded as such a carousal. How he revels in the things done, the impossible feats accomplished, the men he has helped to shape and arm for the battle! The old conundrum about a predecessor of my own at Silcoates seems here of little value—'Why is the HM. like a hone? Because he sharpens a lot of dull blades and wears himself out in the process.' For the founder of Bedales is not worn out; he is still able to give sage counsel to fellow-craftsmen, to parents—those best of accelerators or worst of brakes on a schoolmaster's job!—to all that multitude of folk today connected in one way or another with education. And—no recantations! Co-education is still the *beau idéal;* a school is good in so far, and no further, as its life approximates to that of a good family; the time-table must still be, roughly, mornings, classwork; afternoons, outdoor occupations; evenings, social activities. It is a good thing of course to win university scholarships; but it is equally good to create a fine swimming pool, to level 20 acres of rough grassland, or to produce one full Shakespeare play at least a year. Above all, we must not forget that a country's schools are the 'growing point' of its national life and education must therefore not only fit men to maintain an existent society, but must train their powers and give them the outlook for further advance.

Lovers of education will have happy hours reading the ripe reflections of one who on the edge of the wooded Weald and the South Downs created a school which has stood for over 60 years and with whose structure so much thought and sanity and affection have been interwoven.

SYDNEY H. MOORE.

Understanding and Enjoyment. By N. C. MARTIN. O.U.P. 138 pp. 4s.

Scripture in Class. A New Approach for the Secondary Modern School. By M. SIMS-WILLIAMS. 104 pp. 7s. 6d.

The Old Testament in the Secondary School. By H. F. MATHEWS. Religious Education Press. 144 pp. 7s. 6d.

The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848. By R. K. WEBB. Allen & Unwin. 192 pp. 18s.

Mr. Martin has collected some interesting passages that may help children of eleven to read better. The General Editor contributes a French howler in the Preface but apart from that the book is competently done, with questions for comprehension and essay writing attached to each extract. It might well serve as a holiday book which parents would enjoy along with their children. They will find the biblical account of the Flood alongside one by Leonard Woolley. Kontiki is here, and Trevelyan, Fabre, Melville, Mark Twain and the Frenchman Casteret on exploration of caves in the Pyrenees. The aim has been to choose stories in which 'are to be found the easy excitement of what happens next and the depth and variety of meaning that belongs to adult literature.' Parents willing to try out this excellent principle might do something to stop the general decline of good reading.

The two books on scripture teaching are both worth some attention. The first consists of lessons worked out on the training-ship *Arethusa* with liberal use of strip cartoon on the blackboard and of 'Religion through Drama.' I think Mr. Robert Duce would approve both the method and the material. Difficult questions (such as the empty tomb, p. 95) are not shirked. The lessons are 'offered as a serious educational method and not as a way to gild the pill of religious instruction.'

Mr. Mathews has done an excellent job and his book might be used in the family as profitably as in school. The pages on Jeremiah could teach us all. So could the starting-point: 'The plain fact is that the Bible was not written for children, and its use requires the greatest tact and wisdom' (p. 24). The use of the Industrial Revolution to understand the Prophets is an example: "Wealth came rapidly to one class of people, whilst the peasant class was impoverished . . . there was incredible suffering . . . little by little the conscience of the country was aroused by men who preached that God could not be satisfied with worship paid to Him when His sons and daughters were suffering in a way that the worshippers could remedy. Those men were prophets in the true O.T. sense."

Without disparaging any of these books, the last in the list is I think the ablest of them all, an investigation by an American scholar on a Fulbright grant. It is not in the least a prosy account of provision of matter for a working class increasingly able to read, but a study, as the sub-title says, of 'Literature and social tension', showing how in matters of acute conflict the middle class tried by means of book and pamphlet to persuade the lower class not to take the law into its own hands, not to strike, nor burn ricks nor wreck machinery. The attempt was a failure and reminds one at times of what is happening in similar societies in Africa, in Kenya for instance.

W. G. MOORE.

I Went to Moscow. By MERVYN STOCKWOOD. 198 pp. Epworth Press. 15s.

Although this book is chatty and, within limits, informative, I wonder whether a three weeks' visit is sufficient justification for writing it. Mr. Harrison Salisbury spent over five years in Russia, and Mr. Marshall MacDuffie, after working there on behalf of UNRRA, travelled 10,000 miles in the country in 1953. Canon Stockwood, knowing no Russian, relied on the patient Mr. Rogov, whom Intourist placed at his disposal; indeed, he gives us the impression that he had Mr. Rogov all to himself, and that the people whom he interviewed gave him their undivided attention. His visits to school, church and hospital, however, were shared with a British businessman and Mr. MacDuffie, who on pp. 33-34 of his book, *The Red Carpet*, makes some amusing comments on the Canon. Both visitors must have stayed at the National Hotel at the same time, though Mr. Stockwood suggests that he was its sole occupant. His book is, in many ways, egotistical and discursive; but he does tell us that on his visit to a restaurant, his disgust at the Muscovites' drunkenness was shared by "friends," namely Mr. MacDuffie and the businessman. Indeed, the two Englishmen saw more drunkenness in Moscow than in England; the Canon saw more in three days than in eighteen years in East Bristol.

Although Canon Stockwood spent only three weeks in Russia, many of his judgments and impressions are supported by more experienced observers. One of the most sinister things, encountered by himself, Mr. MacDuffie and Mr. Salisbury, was the mischievous fostering of misconceptions about the West in the newspapers and in propaganda in general, and even in text-books used in school and universities. It seems that Russians believe that social and economic conditions in Britain are as they were in the time of Dickens, and that they are quite proof against any information to the contrary. This augurs ill for East-West understanding. Another feature of Soviet life which the Canon exposes is its thoroughly, and deliberately, unegalitarian structure. I do not know on what basis he has calculated Russian wages and prices (though they agree fairly well with Mr. MacDuffie's figures in dollars), but they are illuminating in showing the enormous disparity between the remuneration of the intellectuals (a university rector receives nearly £5,000 a year, a senior professor over £3,000, and a factory workman on the average £250). The clergy too are well off, Moscow priests receiving from £1,500-£2,500 a year, according to Canon Stockwood. Had the book been less discursive and had its author resisted the temptation to express himself, often immaturely and obviously, on all sorts of topics, it would have been better. Despite its faults, as a personal record of what a clergyman saw during a brief visit it is worth reading. GERAINT V. JONES.

Wales for Everyman. By H. A. PIEHLER. 240 pp. Dent. 7s. 6d.

This is one of the "Everyman Guides to the British Isles" published by Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons. First published in 1935, this is a new and revised edition. It is an admirable example of what a guide-book should be: it gives candid information on travel and hotel facilities; a brief sketch of Welsh history and language; eight coloured maps; concise descriptions of places of interest, with appropriate historical, literary and other notes; aids to pronunciation; and a good index. A. R. V.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

International Review of Missions (July) includes 'Can Islam be Modern?' by Rev. Alfred Nielsen; 'Christian Love and the Jews' by Dr. F. Neumann; 'Christian-Jewish Relations' by F. Lovsky; 'The Christian Church and African Heritage' by Rev. E. A. Asamoa; 'Rural Japan: The Church's Strategic Mission' by Rev. Chas. H. Germany; 'Prospects for the Church in Iran' by Rev. H. B. Dehqani-Tafti; 'John R. Mott' by Dr. John A. Mackay; and a review article on Bantu Education by L. B. Greaves.

Scottish Journal of Theology (June) includes 'O.T. in controversy with the Jews' by Rev. M. F. Wiles; 'The Dark Ages and 20th Century Africa' by Rev. W. V. Stone; 'The Theological Basis of Medicine' by Rev. D. J. Wilkinson; 'The Use of κυριος in the Book of Acts' by Rev. J. C. O'Neill; and a review article of Barth's *Kirchliche Dogmatik* by Dr. G. W. Bromily.

Church Quarterly Review (April-June) includes an *In Memoriam* note on its editor, Paul Shuffrey, by Prof. Leonard Hodgson; 'Psychology and Religion' by Robert H. Thouless; 'Mental Health and Christian Responsibility' by R. K. Harrison; 'Philosophy and Language' by Thos. McPherson; 'The Existence of God' by J. J. C. Smart.

London Quarterly and Holborn Review (July) is mainly devoted to articles on the Holy Spirit by Prin. Cunliffe-Jones, Rev. A. Raymond George, Prof. T. E. Jessop, Dr. G. W. H. Lampe, Rev. G. Ernest Long and Dr. C. L. Mitton.

Friends' Quarterly (July) includes 'Communism: the Christian Appraisal' by Gerald Bailey; 'Journal of Eliz. Trusted' by Evelyn Whiting; 'Kierkegaard' by Chas. Marland.

Modern Churchman (June) includes 'Religious Education in English Schools' by Rev. J. F. B. Chitty; 'Modernism in non-Christian Religions' (Pt. 2) by Dr. E. C. Dewick; 'Rowland Williams, 1817-1870' by Rev. D. L. Scott; 'The Problem of Inter-denominationalism' by Rev. Ralph Gardner.

Expository Times (June) 'Some Archaeological Sites and O.T.' by J. M. Allegro; 'N.T. Theology—where and whither?' by Prof. A. M. Hunter; 'St. Paul and the "Soul" ' by Rev. W. D. Stacey. (July) 'The Composition of St. John's Prologue' by Rev. H. C. Green; 'Meister Eckhart' by Rev. Chas. Smith; 'The Single Mind—a study of Charles Morgan' by Rev. T. Glyn Thomas; 'Some Archaeological Sites and O.T.' by Rev. J. N. Schofield.

Canadian Journal of Theology (April) is a new venture which promises very well. This first number includes an estimate of Canadian theology by Dr. Gerald Cragg; 'Is Preaching Prophecy?' by Prof. R. B. Y. Scott; 'Agape and Eros: a critique of Nygren' by Rev. A. S. Dewdney; 'A Study of Canadian Church History' by T. R. Millman; 'The Challenge of Education to the Christian Church' by Prof. Hilda Neatby; 'Christianity and Communication' by Canon F. W. Dillistone.

Harvard Theological Review (April) contains two rewarding articles, 'The Ambivalence of St. Thomas Aquinas' view of the relationship of Divine to Human Law' by Jane E. Ruby, and 'Style and the Man: Thomas Adams, Prose Shakespeare of Puritan Divines' by William Mulder.

Theology Today (July) includes 'The Pattern of Things to Come in S.E. Asia' by Prin. David Moses; 'The Great Religions and International Affairs' by Prof. Ed. J. Jurji; 'There is hope for Indochina' by Prof. Lawrence Burkholder; 'The Renaissance of Hinduism' by P. D. Devanandan; 'The Theology of Martin Buber' by R. Gregor Smith; 'The Welsh Revival of 1904-5' by E. Cynolwyn Pugh.

Yale Review (Summer) includes ' "The Public Philosophy"—The Alternative and A Rejoinder' by Archibald Macleish and Walter Lippmann; 'The "German Miracle" ' by H. C. Wallich; 'How Good are our Science and Engineering' by F. G. Kilgour; 'Political Catholicism in France and Italy' by Emiliana Noether.

Huntingdon Library Quarterly (May) includes 'The Uses of the Humanities' by Pres. Harold Dobbs; 'Columbus and Balboa' by Prof. George B. Parks; 'A Revaluation of *Horestes*' by Prof. James Phillips; 'England and the Louisiana Question' by Prof. Bradford Perkins.

Theology (June) includes 'The Historic Episcopate and After' by Prof. H. E. W. Turner: 'Light from the Modern West' (a discussion of Jehovah's Witnesses) by Rev. C. F. S. Gray. (July) 'Prayer for Busy People' by Rev. John Townroe; 'Non-Professional Ordained Men in Industry' by Rev. Michael Jackson; 'The Construction of an O.T. Theology' by Rev. John Baker.

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